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The Week

THE desire of King Edward VIII to marry Mrs. Ernest Simpson overshadowed all other news almost everywhere in the world during the week ending December 8. The long continued reticence of the British press suddenly broke down and the English people were confronted with a constitutional crisis for which they were totally unprepared. After the first day or so a rising tide of popular support for the King as a human being who ought to have the same prerogatives in his personal life that are accorded his subjects thwarted the apparent intention of the Tory Cabinet to force an immediate abdication. . . . The government continued to have the advantage in the Spanish fighting, despite well substantiated reports that 5,000 German soldiers had been sent to aid the rebels. The League of Nations planned to meet December 10 to take up the Spanish case against Germany and Italy. . . . In France, the Communists voted against Premier Blum, charging that he had betrayed the People's Front policy on Spain. . . . At the Pan American Conference, the United States introduced a proposal under which the nations of this hemisphere would suspend loans and the sale of arms and ammunition to all belligerents in case of hostilities between American republics. . . . Japan found a fresh pretext on which to quarrel with China, in a strike of Chinese workers in Japanese-owned textile mills in Tsingtao, and landed troops there. . . . Germany's extremely serious internal situation was reflected in the announcement of drastic new laws, one of which inflicts the death penalty for the attempt to smuggle money or other property out of the country.

NATIONWIDE protests were heard in the United States over Mr. Roosevelt's decision to curtail the personnel of the W.P.A. drastically before January 1. Of about 2,500,000 workers, 250,000 will be transferred to the Resettlement Administration and 175,000 dismissed. Even the government admits that 25,000 of these have no other resources and are faced by the threat of starvation. All the art and writing projects are included in the cuts, which will range in their cases between one-sixth and one-third. . . . The maritime strike continued on all three coasts, with the prediction by Secretary Perkins of an early settlement. . . . Major George L. Berry was scheduled to preside over a conference in Washington through which it was hoped to speed up the process of reëmployment in private industry. . . . A number of employers, especially in New York City, distributed to their workers forged social-security blanks demanding, among other things, information as to their religion, nationality and trade-union affiliations. . . . A Treasury offering of $1,500,000,000 was sold at the unprecedentedly low interest rate of 2.5 percent. . . . The American Newspaper Guild had the most successful week in its history, signing contracts with several important papers. . . . Announcement was made that in the next Congress a proposal will be brought forward for a single presidential term of six years. . . . A new textile was reported, consisting of cotton and flax; if the claims made for it are correct, it should have a beneficial economic effect upon the Southern states. . . . The struggle between Representative Rayburn of Texas and Representative

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O'Connor of New York for Speaker of the House continued. Rayburn is a mild New-Dealer and O'Connor is a Tammany man, unswervingly loyal to the private-utility interests. . . . The Supreme Court upheld retail-price-maintenance for trade-marked goods.

THE decision of the Supreme Court upholding state laws which grant the right of producers to compel retailers to maintain fixed prices on trade-marked articles occupies a highly controversial field in both law and economics. Concerning the law we cannot speak without the complete text of the decision before us. The usual economic contentions, may, however, be briefly summarized. Retail prices fixed by the producers are usually set high enough to obtain a wide distribution—that is, to ensure a profit to the numerous less efficient retailers. If competition were allowed to play its normal part in influencing these prices, they would be lower, the consumers would benefit thereby, and more would probably be sold. On the other hand, price competition of this sort may put many retailers out of business, or force them to recoup on other types of articles, so that the consumer may lose in convenience or in higher prices of non-trade-marked articles what he gains in lower prices of the articles in question. Furthermore, department or chain stores may actually sell widely advertised articles at a loss in order to attract customers. As in most controversies of this kind, public advantage seems to lie with neither side. It is dangerous to allow producers to set prices, and also dangerous to allow competition to set them. A system of distribution organized primarily for service to consumers would be better fitted to deal with the variant needs of efficiency, low price and convenience.

THERE are persistent reports from France that her government wishes to reopen negotiations with the United States over the war debts and that Great Britain might also participate. Some discussions have apparently already taken place, although Congress has the sole power to make a new settlement. The terms reported in the press suggest that about 90 percent of the existing debt will be canceled, in addition to the reduction made some years ago, which, as these matters are roughly reckoned, amounted, on principal and interest, to 25 percent of the British obligation, 50 percent of the French, and 75 percent of the Italian. Nothing is said about the "transfer problem"; no important part of the debt could be paid in gold, and American business men would be just as much opposed now as they were ten years ago to payment in goods. If the debt were reduced to an amount coverable by "invisible" items such as tourists' expenditures, the action would be almost the same as complete cancellation. It is an open secret that the only interest any European debtor now has in ending its status as a defaulter is to float large new loans in the United States, at present forbidden by the Johnson Act. To this there would be bitter opposition in Congress and in popular opinion—opposition so strong that it would probably defeat the negotiations.

ASSISTANCE to the maritime strikers of the Atlantic Coast was extended by French longshoremen last week when they refused to service the United States liner "Washington" at Havre, because it carried a strikebreaking crew. Immediately the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association declared that they would order their members, who are not on strike on the Atlantic Coast, to refuse to work French ships, and the liner "Champlain" was forced to return to France still carrying a cargo of wines, perfume and lace that it had brought here for the Christmas trade. Although the French longshoremen were afterward forced to retreat from their position by pressure from their officials and from the government, this action of theirs had a strongly encouraging effect on the strikers here. Meanwhile on the Pacific Coast the shipowners' strike committee estimated that $250,000,000 had been lost during the strike, and The Journal of Commerce estimated that the losses were a record for any strike of the last ten years. Shipowners on the Atlantic Coast continued to insist that the strike had lost its effect, while the strike strategy committee declared 26,000 men were out on that coast and 245 ships tied up. The strike may have the important effect of getting rid of some of the reactionary trade-union leaders, against whom in certain cases legal action is being taken.

LEON TROTSKY is entitled to the unenviable distinction of being the world's number-one political refugee. In the last few years he has been harried from one country to another. Conservative governments fear him as a potential revolutionary; Left governments are usually friendly to the U.S.S.R., which is of course bitterly inimical to the exiled leader. His financial resources, so far as can be learned, are exceedingly slender and come mainly from his journalistic writing; his health is fragile. Norway, which finds his presence a grave embarrassment, has just notified him that he will have to leave when his passport expires on December 18. When Mexico, a few days ago, offered him a refuge, he revealed a state of mind that is easy to understand when he asked for assurances that the invitation was not a trick of his enemies to get him assassinated. These assurances have now been given. Mexico, in fact, is almost the one country in the world now willing to serve as a refuge for Trotsky; it has a Left government, but for some years relations with Soviet Russia have been markedly cool.

EVERYONE has always known that government expenditures on construction projects, during a time of depression, had indirect valuable results far larger than the direct ones. This fact entered strongly into the calculations of Herbert Hoover when, as Secretary of Commerce, he first brought

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the proposal vigorously to public attention fourteen years ago. An exhaustive study of this point by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, made at the request of the Public Works Administration, has just been concluded. It finds that the indirect employment created through the purchase of materials for such projects is two and one-half times greater than the amount of work resulting from the use of these materials on the job. The report of the Bureau strengthens our belief in the social unwisdom of the policy to which President Roosevelt from time to time insists on returning, of "made work" for the unemployed, of almost any character, in which a disproportionately large part of the expenditure goes for direct wages to those on relief. Wise social policy clearly calls for projects useful in themselves, carried out by labor obtained through normal channels and at normal wages—and by that we mean not merely normal hourly rates, but a normal weekly pay envelope.

WHEN the State Department recently announced that American diplomats must not marry aliens without special permission, its action no doubt looked to some people like arbitrary interference with private affairs, even worse, because less justifiable, than the British Cabinet's dictation to King Edward. In fact, however, there was good reason for the ruling. We have already pointed out in these pages that employees of the American State Department in Europe have in recent years been increasingly charged with hostility to supposed American ideals. In particular, representatives of this government in several countries are accused of acting as though they were supporters of German Nazidom, placing all possible difficulties in the way of refugees from that country and, it is suspected, sometimes reporting confidential information to the German police. It would be absurd to suppose that all conduct of this sort can be traced to the influence of alien wives; but in some cases, this is undoubtedly the fact, and it was inevitable that the State Department should take cognizance of it.

OUT of the practical realities of the struggle in Spain have come many changes in the policy of the Anarchists, who comprise such a large part of the working class of that country. Perhaps the first major indication of their increasing realism was their participation in the election which swept the People's Front government to power last February. Since then there have been other signs, and in our opinion one of the most important—for what it means to the future—is a declaration of Juán Peiro, a leading figure of the C.N.T. (the anarcho-syndicalist federation of labor), and a member of the national government. In a speech printed in Spanish Revolution, the bulletin of the United Libertarian Organizations in New York City, he said:

> The end of the war will find its completion in a transitional system. . . . To me the most adequate form of the transitional system created by the war and the revolution is a Socialist Federated Republic. And I am asking the comrades not to be taken aback by the term "Socialist." We are all socialists, even those who call themselves anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists. What is important is that a Republic of a socialist type should accept the premises of federalism, which grant to every community the right of self-government in the fullest meaning of this term. . . . The Socialist Federated Republic will have to be built upon the basis of complete liberty for every community, all such communities being linked up by a system of economic federalism leading to the most comprehensive and elevated form of moral and economic solidarity. . . . But for the present moment the most important thing that all of us have to learn is to compose our differences within a broad plan of mutual understanding.

IF ANY more evidence is needed of the sort of regime General Franco hopes to establish in Spain, and has already established in the territory he controls, a report from the Paris Tageszeitung will fill out the picture a little. The paper's correspondent says:

> The authorities of the provinces occupied by the rebels have received a secret order which obliges them to establish within forty-eight hours special lists of all citizens of Jewish descent who are to be considered as suspicious individuals.
>
> General Franco has . . . declared to the German officers of his army that from now on no Jew will be permitted to occupy any public office. . . .
>
> So far it is not known whether foreign Jews should be replaced by citizens of countries friendly to General Franco. In the event that this is decided upon, Italians, Germans and Portuguese with commercial experience would be given first consideration.

Anti-Semitism in Spain is, of course, a pretty small matter, for there aren't many Jews there. The Catholic Church drove them out several centuries ago. This does not excuse the cruelty to the Jews who remain, but it is an indication that the policy is one of Franco's repayments to Hitler, who badly needs support of his nonsensical racial theories, for services rendered.

ONE answer to the allegation that the unemployed won't work is furnished by the jobless men in the Mills Hotel in Rivington Street, hard by the Bowery, in New York City. The Emergency Relief Bureau has taken over this hotel and now operates it as a home for men, convalescing from illness, who have no jobs, no money and no families. These are classified as "unattached" and it would be difficult to find a group whose economic plight is more hopeless. According to the official tory theory, they should turn gratefully to government relief and settle down contentedly to a life career as public charges. Actually they have shown a vastly different spirit. At an organizational meeting held in the basement of the hotel they formed the Coöperative Placement Bureau of the Unattached. They took up a collection to pay expenses, and started out with

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a treasury of exactly fourteen cents. They began an active campaign to canvass the city on foot—they have no money to pay for a telephone, although the pay station in the hotel lobby serves for incoming calls—and in the first month they rounded up sixty-nine permanent jobs (taking sixty-nine persons off the relief rolls) and more than 150 temporary ones. Their ranks include many professional men and white-collar workers, as well as skilled manual workers. At the end of the second month they had placed more than 165 men in permanent positions and their goal is to find a job for every able-bodied man of the 600 now in the hotel.

GOOD news about civil liberties for the week ending December 8: Lawrence Simpson, the American seaman who was imprisoned in Germany for bringing anti-Nazi propaganda into that country, will be released December 20, it was announced from Germany. This decision, which cuts about fourteen months from the three-year sentence Simpson was serving, was probably largely due to the pressure of American public opinion on the State Department. . . . The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York City upheld Federal Judge Grover Moscowitz in ruling that there was no prohibition against the importation of contraceptives for use under the direction of physicians for maintaining health. . . . Bad news for the same period: Several hundred strikers and sympathizers before the Berkshire Knitting Mills, who were lying on the ground to show their peaceful intention, were attacked with tear gas by borough police, seventy-eight of them arrested and sentenced to thirty days in jail.

King and Constitution

GOSSIP concerning the romance of a King has suddenly burst forth as a vital constitutional issue in Great Britain, as a public question, the decision of which may seriously affect the future of an empire. How did this occur, and what does it mean?

King Edward VIII, it is generally known, has long been in love with Mrs. Wallis Simpson; he has made no secret of the fact but, on the contrary, has taken her on cruises and has made sure that she would be present at court functions. The British press printed nothing concerning this. The private love affairs of their monarchs have traditionally been treated by Englishmen (publicly) as if they did not exist. When Mrs. Simpson obtained a divorce from her second husband, there was still no comment by editors, politicians or other public men. But when it became certain that the King wished to marry her, and as a consequence a crisis of some sort was impending, the discussion broke loose. There is no mystery in the fact that the impending marriage of the King should compel attention, especially when the object of his affection was an American woman, a commoner, and one who had divorced two husbands. But this still does not explain why it should have become an affair of state.

There is at present no law to prevent the King from marrying anyone he may wish to make his wife. When he marries her, she automatically becomes Queen, and her children by the King assume the customary place of such children in the line of succession to the throne. Unless Parliament passes a law to forbid this series of events, or any part of it, the King's marriage to Mrs. Simpson would make her Queen, and her first son would be the Prince of Wales. The King has a perfect constitutional right to embark on this course if he so wishes, in the absence of interference by Parliament.

There is a rumor, not fully confirmed, that he thought such action unwise, and asked Prime Minister Baldwin for a law which would make his future wife Duchess of Cornwall rather than Queen, and would fix the succession on the children of his brother, the Duke of York. This request is said to have been refused. If so, the choices remaining before the King were: to make Mrs. Simpson Queen, to abdicate and marry her, or not to marry her at all. Mr. Baldwin is supposed to have strongly opposed the first course, urging the King to take one of the other two. So the private life of the King as a human being approached a constitutional issue. Whether his reported impulse to ignore the Prime Minister's advice is a desire to do something unconstitutional depends, apparently, on the subtle question whether that advice was an official representation of the Cabinet or was merely private counsel. It can truthfully be said, however, that if there is a constitutional issue, it was forced by Mr. Baldwin, and not by the King.

Why should Mr. Baldwin wish to place before the King so difficult and dangerous a choice? Why was he unwilling to have Mrs. Simpson become Queen, or at least to compromise by allowing the King to marry her in some other status without giving up his throne? Here enter many forces behind the scenes. There is the objection of conservative court circles to an American and a commoner. Of immense power is the disapproval of divorce by the Established Church. It would count as a tremendous loss of prestige for the Church and its position in this matter if it had to anoint a King married to a woman who had put aside two previous husbands. On the other hand, if it could either defeat this marriage or force the King off the throne, it could show an object lesson of the danger of irregular romances. Opposition to divorce also influences non-conformists and Catholics, particularly in the Dominions. No doubt Mr. Baldwin feared, in spite of the strong popular support for the King on the ground that he has as much right to be happy as any other human being, that such an issue would split opinion throughout the Empire and might weaken loyalty to its traditional symbol. Unfortunately, however, the issue is now raised in acute form and will do all the harm of which it is capable, no matter what the outcome.

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Finally, there is the suspicion that the King intends to be more than a figurehead, and may endanger the hard-won supremacy of Parliament. This feeling has, strangely enough, been particularly strong among the Tories, who resent Edward's sympathy for the Welsh miners and his interest in good housing for workers. But it has also been rumored in the past that he has pro-German tendencies and might be sympathetic with the Nazis. There may indeed be a danger in a headstrong and temperamental monarch who insists on being a man rather than a mere symbol of state, at this juncture in the world's history. But if Mr. Baldwin and his Cabinet did make up their minds that he must either be curbed or forced out for the future welfare of democratic government, it is a pity that they did not choose a more popular and democratic issue as a test. For in this case the natural sympathy of most uninhibited persons, and particularly of the younger and more free elements of the British public, must be strongly in the King's favor. His independence will look less like the defiance of democratic government than like the justifiable assertion of private liberty as against a censorious and conservative prudishness. A defeat for Edward VIII may doom the Baldwin Cabinet as well.

Inter-American Peace

PAN-AMERICANISM has long been a slogan without much substance. It has been used partly to take the sting out of the old unilateral application of the Monroe Doctrine, which in practice seemed to mean financial or even military imperialism on the part of the United States in Latin America, partly to cultivate better trade relations, and partly to rationalize one of those movements which clutter up the landscape without accomplishing much because they are compounded of vague sentimentalism, pious phrase-making and individual careerism. The fact remained that most of Latin America was remote from the United States geographically, culturally and even in economic relations; that it was, indeed, much closer to Europe.

Mr. Roosevelt's present attempt to put life into internationalism on the American continents has a somewhat more realistic basis. The world is again threatened by war in Europe and Asia, and this war may easily become universal. The League of Nations, of which the United States is not a member and will not be, has clearly demonstrated its impotence to stem the drift toward catastrophe. The people of this country want above all things to keep from being involved again, but all who have studied the prospect in detail admit the extreme difficulty of neutrality. Some bold policy is necessary. Apparently the administration seized upon the possibility of common action by the American republics as a basis for peace. The President is said to have been convinced that if an American League of Nations could be erected on sound principles, it might offer an example to the rest of the world and thus help to prevent the outbreak of war. More substantial than this, however, are two other considerations: first, if other nations could be assured in advance that belligerents would obtain no support, military, economic or financial, from nations on the American continents, it might deter them from going to war; second, if war did come, and the United States in an endeavor to keep out of it attempted to practise any degree of commercial non-intercourse with belligerents, that policy would be more feasible and would involve fewer sacrifices if the other nations in the western hemisphere likewise remained firmly neutral and built up trade and financial relations with one another.

The draft treaty submitted by the United States to the Inter-American peace conference at Buenos Aires is calculated to make a beginning, but only a modest beginning, in this endeavor. It applies, on its face, not to relations between American nations on the one hand and nations in other continents on the other, but only to relations among the twenty-one American republics. By the terms of the treaty the signatories again pledge themselves to settle all disputes by diplomacy, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or court decision. They reaffirm their intention to abandon war as a national policy. To give effect to these pledges, the treaty sets up a committee consisting of the Secretaries of State of the ratifying countries, to handle dangerous disputes. More important, however, are the provisions concerning what will happen if war does occur. The treaty forbids the export of arms, ammunition and implements of war to any American belligerents, either directly or indirectly, and forbids loans or credits to them. These provisions make no distinction between aggressor and victim. Any nation is permitted to go further than this in protecting its neutrality if it so desires.

Under this treaty, if it were accepted, any American nation might trade to its heart's content with any European or Asiatic belligerent. Or, on the contrary, it might decline to trade. It might even go to war with non-American states, becoming an ally of a belligerent. The treaty would come into play in a world war only if two or more American states went to war on opposite sides. In that case, the required embargoes would be applied against both of them, though not necessarily against their allies on other continents. Unless a treaty like this were extended to include the rest of the world, or unless its terms were enlarged to provide united action in the event of a war elsewhere, it would do little to serve the specific purposes sought by the administration. Of course, the prevention or isolation of war on this continent is desirable, but it is not now a major problem.

Still another loophole exists in the draft. The proposed treaty contemplates embargoes on all belligerents alike (so long as they are American belligerents). The League of Nations is based upon possible action against an aggressor. The first course

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is diametrically the opposite of the second, both in purpose and in practice. The first aims at maintaining non-participation in any possible war; the second at preventing war by the threat of participation against those responsible for it. But most Latin American nations are members of the League. And the draft treaty exempts from the provision requiring application of its equal embargoes those nations bound by other multilateral treaties requiring a different course—in other words, League members. These contradictory provisions need not necessarily come into conflict in a specific case; but if the League of Nations should act in an American dispute and should invoke Article 16, as it did in the Ethiopian affair, for instance, then the new treaty would be inoperative for League members. Even so, the Argentine delegate, who is active in the League of Nations, objects to the treaty on the ground that it sets up a competitor with the League, with a different course of action, rather than a mere regional compact under the League and in harmony with it.

It looks now as if this attempt, like all previous approaches to international coöperation, would result in something either too modest or too unenforceable to deal adequately with the problem of world war. The most that can legitimately be hoped is that the American republics may be induced to remain at peace among themselves, and at least not to take opposite sides in a war arising in Europe or Asia. If the United States is to be neutral in such a war, it must probably rely mainly on its own devices.

Uphold the W.P.A.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S plan for wholesale cuts in the personnel of W.P.A. projects is meeting with spirited resistance in all parts of the country. Stay-in strikes, picketing, parades and protest demonstrations have served to call public attention to the situation, frequently in rather spectacular fashion. An emergency meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors cabled to President Roosevelt in South America urging him to countermand the reduction orders issued by the Works Progress Administrator. Unless the President intervenes, the original order stands and relief costs will be reduced by seven percent, cutting down expenditures from $165,000,000 monthly as of November to a final sum of $100,000,000 a month. It is estimated that this will mean the dropping of 175,000 persons from the relief rolls.

According to authoritative reports, the move to cut down the W.P.A. projects comes from the President himself. He is said to have been much impressed by arguments made against him during the campaign in which alleged extravagance in the W.P.A. was dwelt upon at length. The President is represented as being eager to make substantial reductions in the cost of relief and it is said in particular that he has little faith in the various W.P.A. Art Projects, such as those for writers, actors, painters and musicians. These have been the first to feel the cuts.

However much the President may desire lower relief costs, it remains true that any widespread reduction of W.P.A. would cause severe hardship to thousands of individuals who then would have nowhere to turn. It is a widely observed circumstance of the present recovery that employment has not kept pace with the improvement in general business conditions. Local communities are extremely hard-pressed to uphold their share of the relief expenses, and, as the mayors said in their cable, "Any suggestion of wholesale dismissals or substantial reduction at this time is simply out of the question. Every city is carrying its share and more of the load, and cannot assume additional burdens." Aubrey Williams and other W.P.A. officials have attempted to soften the force of the present move by saying they will endeavor to confine dismissals to hired employees of the administrative staffs, non-relief workers and workers having other sources of support. Both the ethics and the efficacy of any such sorting-out process are open to question, and if eventual dismissals reach anything like the 500,000 figure that some observers predict, it will be obviously impossible to keep within arbitrary divisions such as these.

The drive on the white-collar projects is particularly regrettable, inasmuch as there represent one of the most enlightened aspects of the W.P.A. program. Office and professional workers assuredly can get as hungry as manual workers and it is a shameful waste of human resources not to provide them with projects that will utilize their talents and skill. Aside from the benefits to individuals, the W.P.A. Theatre Project, the Artists' Project, the Music Project and others have made substantial contributions in advancing the arts themselves, in discovering folk talents and in bringing to the whole people a sense of participation in painting, writing, producing plays and similar activities. The President would do well to recognize the value of the Art Projects and take pride in them as one of the finer things his administration has given the country.

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The Future of Electric Power

Fourth in a Series, "The Next Four Years"

The articles already published in this series are by Representative Maury Maverick, Secretary Henry Wallace and former Under-Secretary Rexford G. Tugwell. The other contributors will be John L. Lewis, Thomas Reed Powell, Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, Bruce Bliven and George Soule.—THE EDITORS.

UNCLE SAM'S ultimate objectives in the power field are fairly clear. Recognizing electricity as an absolute necessity in modern life, he has determined that the supply must be plentiful, widely distributed—and cheap.

Questions of ownership of the producing and distributing facilities are relatively unimportant so long as government, the proprietor, is recognized both in thought and action as on watch to safeguard the paramount public interest while dealing more than fairly with all the private interests involved. The State viewing the power scene may well adopt something of the attitude of a certain lord of the manor expressed in a sign posted on the beach at Lyndmouth, England, reading "Those desiring to fish in, bathe in, or otherwise use these waters will see my clerk."

The power supply must be integrated, because only in this way will the lowest possible costs be obtained. But integration contemplates other tie-ins besides those effected with wires; for "power," as Harlow S. Person has said, "like the home is more than a physical and mechanical thing; it is a social institution whose widespread usage represents the opportunity for deepening and diffusing civilization."

Power must be viewed as an instrument whose complete development may mean the release of the race not only from physical drudgery but for a new adventure. But a refined technology such as is implicit in the electrical age cannot be run, as Lewis Mumford points out, "by people whose moral conceptions and whose psychological capacities are of a cruder order than the intricate mechanisms they are called upon to work. Our mechanical advances must be coördinated with our social capacities." Our long-term progress in things electrical, therefore, will depend not so much on political developments as on our educational and ethical outlook. Before attempting to prophesy progress in the immediate future it is well to have the foregoing long-time point of view in mind.

The character of our electrical development in the next four years depends in large measure on the degree of accommodation possible to effect between public and private interests which have heretofore actually been at swords' points—whether it always so appeared on the surface or not. The electrical industry is 95-percent privately owned, or thereabouts. There is no generally discernible demand that this ratio be materially changed or in favor of nationwide municipal or public ownership. The drive is rather to force the electrical industry to perform honestly and adequately under its licenses —local, state and federal. So many other problems press for solution that the public will be content to allow the private interests to continue to operate this $13,000,000,000 industry—if the private interests will recognize the government's entire right to regulate and control adequately, whether through federal commissions, state public-service commissions, "yardsticks" or what have you.

The Decision Facing Private Ownership

The decision as to whether there is to be this recognition and the resulting accommodation lies almost wholly with the private interests. The industry has really been slipping and fighting only rear-guard actions, especially during the last ten years. Continuation of this strife may retard such things as the lowering of rate levels to a cost-plus-fair-profit basis; but the end result is almost sure to be public ownership on a wide scale. This is the only country in the world, be it remembered, where the electrical interests assume a position of open antagonism to constituted authority. In fact, private ownership abroad is so circumscribed by government that it has little in common with ours.

It is quite doubtful whether the electrical industry is capable of making a real about-face, becoming less belligerent and finding for itself a more normal position in our economy. One of the logical outcomes of the era which terminated in the Federal Trade Commission investigations and the crash of certain utility systems is that the industry's inner councils are very much divided. If the holding-company act is sustained, the grip of banker control will be weakened and the influence of the operator as contrasted with the speculator correspondingly strengthened. This should produce a more unified and probably healthier situation. However, the low (or shall we call it the undeveloped?) social attitude of the industry is its principal weakness and one that cannot be overcome overnight. The personnel has been trained to take no interest in social and economic questions. The World Power Conference program on "The National Power Economy" attracted the largest group of foreigners ever to visit our shores, but only 165 employees of our private utility industry registered. This is in con-

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trast to the 5,000 employees the industry could put down on the boardwalks of Atlantic City at N.E. L.A. conventions. Further, the top directing heads have specialized since the early days on "service"—which in essence means keeping the public quiet in spite of high rates and a generally dictatorial attitude.

Getting the Rates Down

The demand for lower rates is the heart of the drive against the electric utilities. The public deprecates the introduction of propaganda into textbooks, of course, and it frowns on write-ups and watered stock, but the battle-cry remains "Give us fairer rates!" This is all but proved by the fact that in the territory of those few companies whose rates have reached fairly reasonable levels the anti-company agitation has practically ceased. Back of this concentration on lower rates there lies perhaps the unthought-out realization that only through electricity can release come to a drudgery-wearied world—only as rates come down can this dream be realized.

In an article entitled "Paying Too Much for Electricity," published in The New Republic in December, 1932, the author worked out in some detail an estimate that showed the existence of an overcharge of from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 per year for domestic and commercial service. The basis of this estimate has been carefully reviewed and adjustments made for 1935 conditions. The increase in gross revenues, for which the highly remunerative retail customers were largely responsible, and the decrease in debt service since 1931 have more than offset the effect of tax increases and other new charges. But despite somewhat lower average rates due largely to the influence of "yardstick regulation," there is every indication that the overcharge last year was still in excess of $400,000,000. Refined estimates are, of course, impossible under present unscientific methods of distribution-cost accounting. It is significant, however, in this connection that in 1932, as Basil Manly, vice-chairman of the Federal Power Commission, has pointed out, residential customers in the United States were paying an average of 5½ cents per kilowatt hour for electricity whereas the residential customers throughout Canada were paying only 2.22 cents per hour.

There have been many individual reductions in domestic electric rates since 1932. However, except for its yardstick value the amount of such reductions is not highly significant when compared with the total volume of domestic sales. The uniform low rates of the T.V.A. have produced a wave of rate reductions reaching into all parts of the country. In the Tennessee Valley region, reductions have ranged from 25 to 40 percent. The companies making these reductions have been rewarded by increased sales, increased revenues and increased profits. In three of these companies it is even estimated that kilowatt-hour sales of electricity increased 32 percent during the first year of the new rates. Meanwhile the people of the area are benefiting from the way of life that a more abundant use of electricity provides.

In the same article in The New Republic the author ventured the prophecy that "the most promising load builder for the immediate future lies in increased domestic use." In the past three years our domestic consumption of electricity has risen from 12,000,000,000 kilowatt hours annually to 15,000,000,000 and domestic consumption today is running approximately 50 percent above 1929 levels.

Men of vigor and imagination have not been content with average figures. In contrast to the 1935 national annual average of 673 kilowatt hours, the municipal system in Seattle has achieved an average of nearly 1,100 kilowatt hours. Down in Georgia, which might be considered "thin" territory, the average has been raised above 1,039 kilowatt hours along the lines served by the Georgia Power Company. Operating in southern Virginia and in northern North Carolina, the Virginia Electric and Power Company has reached an average of 1,000 kilowatt hours. In Washington, D. C., where the influence of innumerable small apartments is offset by low domestic rates, an average of just over 1,000 kilowatt hours is reached.

When intelligent rate policies are combined with provisions for financing the purchase of electric appliances, people who are educated to the advantages of electricity use it abundantly. As one result of the election a marked decrease in retail rate levels and a rapid increase in domestic consumption are to be expected over the next four years. With President Roosevelt in the White House, our people are sure to become increasingly power-minded, and to demand the advantages of the lower rates found to be consistent with greater use and actual cost plus a fair profit. The lower rates for money which prevail today will force at least some Public Service Commissions to reduce the percentage of return on the investment which supposedly governs electric tariffs. The downward trend in rates will be facilitated by the fact that the costs of distributing electricity—heretofore a dark mystery—have been pretty well determined largely through the initiative of the Power Authority of the State of New York, even though the information does not come through cost-finding practised by the utilities.

Our policy of state regulation was designed not only to make the private electric utilities behave but to keep us off the possible rocks of public ownership. After some resistance to regulation, the private interests grudgingly accepted it and selected valuation as the battleground. Through three decades and with ample assistance from the courts—including the Supreme Court—the reproduction-cost-new theory of value was fairly well established and regulation thereby largely nullified. The system involves the enthronement of intangibles and through the constant variation in prices, cost-finding is practically barred. The general public looks less and less to the state commissions for protection in utility

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matters and more and more to the federal government. In a majority of the states the public does not look to the commissions at all.

During the next four years regulation will be largely by "yardstick." Long recognized by economists as an effective means of control, the yardstick's emergence as a significant factor in the utility field is due primarily to President Roosevelt. For example, it has long been noted that the low rates of a municipally owned plant are apt to be reflected in the rate levels in the surrounding privately operated territory, but it remained for the T.V.A., with its low, uncomplicated and widely advertised electric tariffs to affect favorably the rate levels of the whole country.

But price yardsticks alone are not enough; their influence operates at too slow a tempo. The conception of large publicly owned plants located at the four corners of the national map—Grand Coulee and Bonneville, Boulder Dam, the T.V.A. and the St. Lawrence—are yardsticks of another sort. They have settled once and for all that the government is to have the whip hand—be both match and master—in the world of electricity. And why not? At the World Power Conference in Washington last September the President called forth a burst of applause when he said that if government power projects now under construction are not sufficient to break the "vicious circle" of too high rates and too little use, "the influence of additional meritorious projects awaiting development can be added." The election returns remove any possibility of effective political opposition.

The whole rural-electrification scheme as developed by this administration is another far-flung yardstick aimed essentially at 6,000,000 farm homes now without electric service. Pecking at such a gigantic problem would only have invited defeat; planning it out on the grand scale—over $400,000,000, authorized for self-liquidating loans, and ten years given in which to overcome the obvious difficulties—ties it in directly as an essential part of the whole long-time rural-rehabilitation scheme. Experience in other countries leads us to believe that we can change the present rural psychology—parsimonious use occasioned by high rates—and within a relatively short time attain our goal of a self-liquidating load of 100 kilowatt hours per month. The private companies are interested primarily in load builders such as stoves, refrigerators and hot-water heaters. But important social objectives are obtained by the washing machine and the radio, even though they do not require much current.

The private industry has been put on its toes to do its own share of rural electrification and to cooperate through reasonable wholesale rates and otherwise in the coöperative development of those areas it cannot cover at what it considers a reasonable return. Further, all building of rural electric lines, whether by public or private agencies, must be on an area basis. To reach only the profitable customers means that the electrification of the points in between may be indefinitely postponed. So viewed, much of what has already been done in this field is definitely anti-social.

Between the public and private effort in this rural field, agricultural techniques are likely to be worked out appropriate to an electrical age. For it must be remembered that while there has been a great advance in the application of electricity to the home, hardly more than a start has been made in the barn and around the farm.

Rural electrification means much more than merely providing electrical gadgets. If we can believe the population experts, at least two-thirds of our national population a hundred years hence will be the progeny of those now living on farms. The low birth rates in urban areas and relatively high birth rates on farms are responsible for this prospect. If our future population is to be of a type capable of carrying on the American tradition we must give to our rural population surroundings fit for a high type of American. Nothing less than a cultural renaissance for our farm population will do. If one studies the history of the application of electricity to industry during the last forty years such a development seems entirely feasible. Then too, as we dig deeper into the soil-and-water-conservation program, widespread pumping looms as an important factor in national survival. This affords another and a master inducement for widespread rural electrification, for pumping on any considerable scale means electric pumping.

Coöperation Between Public and Private Ownership

The conference at the White House last October to consider the feasibility of coöperation in the Tennessee Valley between public and private interests resulted in a decision to attempt first to work out comity on the basis of transmission. Questions affecting generation and distribution were definitely postponed pending the exploration of the transmission field. Reduced to simple terms, the problem seems to be: can and should transmission lines owned by public and private interests be made common carriers? That they should be so treated was one of the major recommendations of Pennsylvania's Giant Power Board, made about ten years ago. In my own opinion it will not be many years before we shall wonder that there should ever have been any doubt about the legality and the social desirability of considering electric transmission lines in the same way we now consider oil and gas and railroad trunk lines.

In view of the gravity of the soil-and-water-conservation situation it is inconceivable that as a people we will not launch a very elaborate campaign of developing streams, especially in their upper reaches. This will mean dam building and power development and an intensive program of protection of watersheds by vegetation and otherwise to prevent silting up of the new reservoirs.

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To have this government-developed power reach its natural markets means that much of its journey will have to be made over lines now owned by private interests—unless there is to be duplication of facilities. Hence the necessity for the application of the common-carrier principle. Such further pooling will contribute to the availability, abundance and low cost of electric service.

As this prospect becomes clearer, it will probably become unwise in many sections of the country to add to our fuel-burning generating capacity. The government will become an increasingly important purveyor of wholesale current. Just how much bickering and legislation there will have to be before these facts sink home to bankers and investors no one can tell. It can be said, however, that there are leaders of the private industry who would like to sit down with representatives of the government at a table on which a map of the United States was spread and, without too much respect for what has been done to date, plan for the electrical future of the nation. To do otherwise will actually involve the destruction of fixed capital. There is little doubt but that if this American grid could be schemed out now rather than even ten years hence, stupendous sums would be saved to private investors and social values of the greatest importance secured. As the provisions of the holding-company act become operative, the way would seem to be open for some such technical overhauling of the national power system. Even if the essentials of the holding-company legislation are sustained by the courts, continued legislation is to be expected. But as the stronger and geographically more compact companies come to realize the long-range advantages of the legislation and sign up, shimmying of the corporate monstrosities which have invaded the utility field will have little significance, except to provide meal tickets for the legal profession. For the first time in the history of such dissolutions it is provided that the chips in the game pass over the table, there to be tested for real value. Thus individual stockholders and minority groups are assured of a square deal.

Questions That Must Be Decided

With the reconvening of Congress some effort to centralize the government's interest in power will doubtless be made. At the moment the Power Division of the P.W.A., the Reclamation Service, the Federal Power Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Rural Electrification Administration, the National Power Policy Committee, the Army Engineers and the T.V.A. represent Uncle Sam in one way or another in power matters. Also a bill which had administration support at the last session is likely to be reintroduced at the next. It would give some agency of the government the right to supervise if not to fix the wholesale rates at which power generated at government plants is sold.

Legislation such as this would raise a number of vexing questions. Should the Federal Power Commission be assigned this task as provided for in the administration-supported bill, how would the T.V.A. be affected, or the army at Bonneville, or the city of Los Angeles—a large buyer of power from Boulder Dam? How far shall cost be allowed to determine the rates charged for government-generated power? Should the industries of New York State be given all the advantages warranted by the exceptionally low cost of St. Lawrence power? Or should some exclusively federal project such as the T.V.A. be allowed to draw industry because of attractive rates without regard to the influence on industrial development in other sections? Then there arises for all government plants the question of possible differentials as to price which should obtain immediately at the site of a given hydro development and at other points within its transmission reach. Some of those interested in public power believe in a uniform price for wholesale current, both for that sold at the plant site and also for that transmitted whatever the distance. Others would charge one price at the site and another somewhat higher throughout the transmission area. The demand is becoming more insistent that when government-generated current is purchased for resale there should be stipulations as to rates to be charged the ultimate consumer.

At the recent election, both Oregon and Washington defeated by decisive majorities proposals for statewide public ownership of electric facilities. Washington voted for power districts such as those in Nebraska. Interpreted in the Eastern press as setbacks for public ownership, certainly in the case of Washington it was rather a vote of confidence in its efficiently managed and coöperating municipally owned plants located west of the mountains, where the great majority of the voters live.

In March, Seattle votes on buying out the Stone and Webster property, with which the municipal plant has been in competition for nearly thirty years. Gossip has it that this move for absorption originated with bondholders anxious to safeguard an equity slipping because of wastes attendant on competition. The equity back of the bonds and preferred stock on privately owned plants in many other cities is slipping because of high rates and other evidences of poor management. If public ownership comes in a large way, this anxiety of bondholders and other preferred creditors to get out while the equity is intact may smooth the way.

The New Deal in electric power was really inaugurated by President Roosevelt in the years 1928-32. As Governor of New York he stood for publicly owned transmission lines in contrast to the frequently expressed opposition of Governor Smith. He parted company with Chairman Prendergast on the issue that state commissions have administrative as well as judicial responsibilities in regulating private utilities. By changing the membership of the State Power Authority he condemned the proposal

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to sell St. Lawrence power to the private companies without resale stipulations. The far-reaching plans outlined by the President in his speech at Portland, Oregon, in the 1932 campaign, and the T.V.A., Securities and Exchange and holding-company legislation were not only logical but necessary next steps to one who had studied the utility situation.

If only as a background for progress already achieved, please recall that both President Coolidge and President Hoover favored giving Muscle Shoals to the private companies and that both Candidate Landon and the Cleveland platform ignored power. One may well anticipate during the next four years a further but always friendly control of private power agencies in their own as well as the public interest, a considerable integration of existing power facilities, some extension of public power through federal, state and municipal agencies, a further eclipse of state regulation because of its ineffectiveness, considerable progress as to rural electrification and a more intensive drive on retail rates, commercial and domestic. MORRIS L. COOKE.

The Twilight of the A.F. of L.

IT IS perhaps too early to judge the full meaning of the convention here in Tampa, but I think it is safe to say that this convention represented a special, if not crucial, test for the American Federation of Labor. It was the kind of test that all institutions must face: they must either show themselves able to adjust to changing conditions or run the risk of self-destruction. Viewed in that light, the showing was not reassuring.

In terms of opportunities, the Tampa convention was blessed. Important issues were calling for constructive, even courageous, action. There were such questions as the C.I.O., the drive in steel, the maritime strike, the formation of a farmer-labor party, amendment of the Constitution to permit social legislation, the struggle against war and fascism, support of the Spanish trade unions. Yet on these and many other questions the victories won here were not those of youth and courage. They were, on the contrary, victories for bigotry and despair.

Certainly the great question before the convention, as The New Republic observed editorially last week, was whether American labor should be united, presenting a solid front to industry, or be divided into rival factions fighting with each other. How was this problem dealt with? It came to the floor of the convention in the Resolutions Committee's report on the Committee for Industrial Organization, whose unions the Executive Council had suspended.

Superficially, the report, read in a tearful voice by Chairman Matthew Woll, appealed for unity. Yet it was a document so bitter in tone and drastic in prescription that it virtually destroyed whatever chances there might have been of returning the C.I.O. unions to their rightful place in the Federation. It gave unquestioning praise to all the Council had done, while it emphasized and reëmphasized the "studied insults," the "deception," the "irresponsibility" and the "flagrant transgressions" of which John L. Lewis and his cohorts were presumed to be guilty. Ostensibly offered as a peace proposal, it was a first-rate declaration of war.

Specifically, the report failed to propose the one thing that would have made peace and coöperation possible. It failed, that is, to lift the suspensions. Indeed, on this point it made matters worse. The suspensions were not only continued, but the Federation's constitution was amended to give the Executive Council broad and dictatorial powers to punish unions that disobey its orders. It is inconceivable that the C.I.O. unions will accept such a ruling or return to the Federation so long as it remains on the books. Their view was expressed last week by Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union and secretary of the C.I.O., "If the Executive Council can suspend an international union to meet an alleged emergency and define what constitutes such an emergency, an international union can be 'kicked out' for any reason and upon any pretext that pleases a majority of the Executive Council." It was a "fatal step," as Mr. Howard sees it, for those in control of the A.F. of L. to ask the convention for dictatorial powers that violate the voluntary character of the Federation and may lead to its dissolution.

The C.I.O. resolution was passed, as I have noted, in the enforced absence of ten large unions with a million members—a third of the Federation. To see the Tampa convention in proper perspective it is essential to bear in mind continually this unprecedented circumstance. It was regrettable enough that these unions, because of their efforts to organize the unorganized, were denied both voice and vote in decisions that were to affect them and their memberships most vitally. But even more unfortunate was the uneasy feeling in many minds that the Executive Council had acted not only hastily but illegally when it voted the suspensions last September. Nowhere in the Federation's constitution is the Council given such drastic powers. One felt that these men were more concerned with the petty business of preserving their personal prestige, their brief boundaries of authority, than with the larger objective of building a strong and united labor movement. As one reporter, covering his first labor gathering, described them: "Not a callous in a carload." On reflection, he qualified it, "Except sedentary callouses."

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It is true, of course, that the convention did not take the drastic action called for in John P. Frey's resolution—expulsion of the C.I.O. unions. As the newspaper stories have stressed, it "left the door open" for reconciliation. It may be doubted, though, whether an open door is of much use when minds are closed. There is good reason to believe, moreover, that the so-called moderate course was dictated chiefly by a desire to avoid the censure that would unquestionably have been attached to expulsion. Pressure from the rank and file for unity, as expressed in the vote of the state and city central bodies, influenced the Council's action.

Most extraordinary and shameful was the manner in which the Resolutions Committee raised the issue of anti-Semitism in its report on the C.I.O. matter. It singled out the Jewish workers of the garment and clothing unions, insinuated that they alone were not properly thankful for what the Federation had done for them, and told them to go home and "think it over." To the credit of the convention itself, it applauded Max Zaritsky, president of the hatters' union, when he protested against injecting a racial issue into a discussion of organizational problems. Both Matthew Woll and John P. Frey, chairman and secretary of the Committee, attempted some feeble explanations, but finally admitted their blunder by having the objectionable paragraph stricken out. They had revealed, however, the tactics they could resort to in trying to undermine the leadership of two C.I.O. unions.

The reactionary prejudices of the Council found expression in other ways. Preponderantly Catholic, it refused to invite Señora Isabel de Palencia, official fraternal delegate of the Spanish Federation of Labor, to address the convention. More than 100 delegates signed a petition asking President Green and the Council to reconsider. "The democratic traditions of our country," the petition pointed out, "and the interest of the working people supporting the government of Spain make it especially appropriate that in this our annual convention we receive the message of organized labor in Spain, where the forces of fascism are attempting to crush the labor movement." Mr. Green obligingly shook hands with Señora de Palencia, when she approached him on the platform. Her credentials were o.k., he said, but he would have to postpone her address until some other time. The civil war in Spain, Mr. Green explained, was "too muddled" for the Federation to take sides, and the convention was "too busy" to hear speakers on the question.

What else did the convention do, apart from its discussion of the C.I.O. question? It is here that the record becomes most disheartening and the bankruptcy of the present A.F. of L. leaders becomes evident. Practically the entire first week was given over to speeches by outside speakers—politicians, special pleaders and the like. A few of these were worthwhile, but the vast majority were scarcely more than time-killers.

Little was said or done by the convention on the important matter of organization. In its report the Council said that during the year it had carried on an "aggressive general organizing campaign among the unorganized," with the result that 219 local trade and federal labor unions were chartered. Unfortunately, that is less than half the story. For during the same period nearly 400 such unions went out of existence, making a net mortality during the year of more than 160 unions.

On the great maritime strike, the convention's only action was to railroad through—without permitting any discussion—a resolution condemning the striking seamen on the Atlantic Coast and upholding the strikebreaking tactics of the discredited officials of the International Seamen's Union. There was an exciting, but futile, debate led by young delegates from federal unions in the agricultural field, of which there are now forty. They were appealing for a national charter so that they might expand their membership and consolidate their strength. It was the kind of request made a year ago by the radio and other mass-production workers, and it received the same indifferent response from the Executive Council. Significantly, the radio workers, disillusioned by their failure last year, did not bother to come back this year. They joined hands with John L. Lewis and the C.I.O.

Proposals favoring the formation of a farmer-labor party were defeated on the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee, which declared that "nothing has occurred since the last convention to justify any change in the well established non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor." A resolution condemning the anti-labor policies of William Randolph Hearst was rejected because, it was explained, Mr. Hearst has union agreements with some of his employees.

There is little likelihood that the Federation will embark on an intensive organizing drive during the next year. But if by some miracle it should, the convention took one action that will serve as an effective brake. As already noted in The New Republic, it amended its constitution to deprive city central labor unions of the power of placing firms on the unfair list, if the firms have agreements with any international unions. They must now seek the approval of the international involved and, if that is not forthcoming, of the Executive Council. It was quite frankly stated on the floor of the convention that this restriction was intended to prevent the recurrence of such situations as that in Seattle, in which the Seattle Central Labor Union was a decisive factor in helping the Newspaper Guild win its strike against Hearst's Post-Intelligencer. With this action, as with almost every other taken at Tampa, the delegates seemed to be begging John L. Lewis and the progressive industrial unionists to do a job for which they, the ostensible leaders of labor, seem to have lost both appetite and ability.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

Tampa.

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Foundations

THE EDITORS of The New Republic have imposed upon me the delicate and embarrassing task of interpreting my own work. My study of foundations and community trusts[1] is a plain statement of fact accompanied by a minimum of interpretation. These facts tell a story and beyond this story lie a vast number of implications; many of these implications will be dealt with by others and some represent problems which will occupy my continuing attention.

The study itself is simple although the facts needed to make it clear were difficult to obtain. Foundations are reservoirs of surplus wealth utilized for philanthropic purposes and may be explained in terms of two primary categories, namely economics and psychology.

When persons who are recipients of surplus wealth vest a portion of this surplus in the form of a philanthropic foundation they are making a response to the economic system. This is clearly revealed by the fact that the greatest number of foundations came into existence during those periods when every economic index revealed that both individual and corporate incomes were so high that the surplus was not needed for capital reinvestment purposes. In such periods, and especially when taxation absorbs only a relatively small proportion of incomes, wealthy persons may do one of two things: they may spend increased amounts for luxuries and other forms of "ostentatious consumption," or they may make distributions of philanthropy. The economic system itself does not allow for other alternatives. Why not distribute surplus wealth in the form of increased wages or dividends? Because this would jeopardize the system. The only other alternative is to direct the flow of surplus wealth into governmental channels through taxation and thereupon redistribute it in the form of relief to the unemployed, subsidies to farmers and others, or capital investment on the part of government agencies which thereupon became competitors with private industry and, in turn, threats to the existing system. It seems to me, therefore, that foundations must be explained as natural responses to an economic system in which profits periodically tend to outrun the demands for reinvestment in gainful enterprise.

Those who receive the major rewards from and administer this system are placed in a dilemma. They cannot fail to recognize that the system itself causes gross injustices, and that they are held responsible for its periodic breakdowns. At the same time they are not willing to admit that they are, as individuals, cruel and inhuman. Those who possess this degree of sensitivity can demonstrate their sympathy for the unfortunate by indulging in personal philanthropy or by vesting their surplus wealth in the form of a trust fund or a foundation. Analysis of the legal documents establishing foundations (including wills and testaments) is still in process, but two features of these instruments may be mentioned here: in the first place, those who establish foundations express their purposes either in terms which are extremely broad and vague, or they include specifications which are narrowly individualistic if not intolerant. They aim either to "improve the well-being of mankind" or to impose their individual quality upon the institutions of the future. Although both of these incentives may emanate from a sense of injustice, a guilt-feeling or its inversion, the administrative consequences are quite distinct. In the case of those who are activated by a generalized and vague desire to do something for mankind, the result is to place a heavy responsibility upon trustees and foundation officials, and hence it becomes important to know something about the psychological and sociological perspective of these functionaries. Where the donor utilizes his wealth primarily for purposes of "freezing" institutions in the mold of his personality, foundation officials are relatively unimportant.

The two premises with which appraisal begins are, then, (1) that foundations are a natural outgrowth of our economic system, and (2) that the net psychological effect of foundations is to justify and to perpetuate that system and those who administer it. With these premises established, the social critic may proceed to the more detailed task of estimating the qualitative influence of foundations upon American life. My study, which covers the decade from 1921 to 1930, and includes a sample consisting of 80 foundations and 20 community trusts, furnishes some of the basic facts required for such interpretation and appraisal.

Of the total of 100 foundations and community trusts included in the study only 18 had come into existence before 1910, and of the remainder 33 were established during the decade 1911-1920, and 49 during the decade 1921-1930. During this latter decade the foundations and trusts (100) included in this study distributed $518,420,031 for eight primary purposes, namely education, health, social welfare, recreation, international relations, religion, law and government, and race relations.

The actual percentages are stated below:

[1] Published recently by Harcourt, Brace and Company under the title "Wealth and Culture." Incidentally, another phase of this study has since appeared under the imprint of the Association Press; the title is "American Foundations" and the author is one of my collaborators, Harold G. Coffman. Dr. Coffman's study deals particularly with the influence of foundations upon the American child-welfare movement.

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Education	43.0%
Health	33.2%
Social Welfare	14.4%
Administration (Cost of to Foundations)	3.1%
Recreation	1.6%
International Relations	1.5%
Religion	1.4%
Law and Government	1.2%
Race Relations	.18%
Miscellaneous	.04%

Although foundations are often referred to as philanthropies or charities, it is apparent that only a small portion of their gifts is directed toward specifically charitable ends. Even the item called "social welfare" in the above table is misleading, since the major amounts under this category were gifts made to institutions and agencies and were used primarily for administrative purposes and salaries. In other words, only the slightest fraction of foundation money ever finds its way into the hands of economically dependent persons. Indeed, such outright philanthropic giving is generally tabooed by foundations. The basic purpose of foundations is to support existing institutions.

The legal control of foundations rests with trustees who reside primarily in the commercial areas of six Eastern states. And the men who control these reservoirs of wealth are past middle age, have attained both economic security and social prestige and conform to the usual "success" pattern of American social conventions. It is frequently argued that these trustees are less important in directing the affairs of foundations than are the employed officials. This I do not believe to be true and for two reasons: first, the officials are selected by the trustees and hence owe responsibility to them; second, the pressures which are brought to bear upon foundation officials do not succeed unless similar pressures impinge upon trustees.

If the purposes for which foundations have distributed their funds are now brought into the equation with foundation trustees it becomes clear that these accumulations of vested wealth cannot exert anything save a conservative influence in relation to American life. Some critics appear to believe that this influence is used in a concerted manner, that American foundations represent a gigantic conspiracy on the side of reaction. I have found no evidence to warrant this belief. On the contrary, I have discovered that foundation officials are constantly attempting to devise variable and original projects; there are even real rivalries between foundations; but the controls and the contexts are such that the net, total effect is always in the direction of maintaining the status quo.

It is precisely because foundations represent a distinct bias and through this bias exert a most significant influence upon American life that they must expect criticism. On the positive side, it seems to me that there can be no doubt concerning the contribution of foundations to American education and medicine. But their most important achievements have been made, I believe, with respect to health. At this point of highest attainment the normal foundation bias is, however, to be found. When a foundation official became convinced that the next great step in medicine was to socialize its benefits and he thereupon directed expenditures in this direction, the forces of reaction soon found a way, a dubious if not a treacherous way, of depriving him of position and power.

If it is correct to assume that foundations must of necessity exercise a conservative influence upon American culture, criticism of a negative character should allow for this compulsion and hence base its judgments upon such queries as the following: Do the foundations exercise their conservative bias with fairness and justice? In serving their Mæcenas function do the foundations leave the recipients of their munificence sufficiently free to suit the purpose of a democratic society? Allowing for the fact that ours is a society based upon private wealth, do the foundations give adequate attention to their public responsibility? Questions of this sort lead to the more generalized problem of the proper role of private wealth utilized for public purposes. This is fundamentally a question of administration and planning and hence holds importance for any variety of economic society.

As already intimated, these are among the questions to be dealt with by myself and others in the future but it seems to me appropriate that one critical consideration should be mentioned here. I discovered among the recipients of foundation grants a general pattern of negativism which ranged from mild resentment to open hostility. (I say "open" although this is a misstatement, since I found no recipient who was willing to make a public statement criticizing foundations.) A considerable amount of this critical attitude may be traced to details of administration. But underneath administrative details I found a much more subtle source of disaffection which I can explain in no other manner than as loss of freedom. The recipient of foundation grants achieves a quick but transitory sense of material security. He soon discovers that this act places him in new relationships and under new obligations. He pays a price for his economic security in the form of restricted range of action. In a subtle, half-conscious manner he becomes aware of the price he has paid and resentment follows. Donors, officials and trustees of foundations lay claim to a wide latitude of privilege and freedom but they are unaware of the extent to which they limit the liberties of their beneficiaries.

But by far the most significant implications to be derived from my studies are (a) the controlling influence exerted by foundations in the realm of research, and (b) the weighted influence which they exercise upon American culture, both through conservative selectivity and the tendency to neglect or to stereotype creative movements.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN.

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Washington Notes

The Social Security Board Works Overtime—Splitting Straws—The Lunatic Fringe Was Not So Crazy After All

THE Social Security Board offices nowadays resemble those of the draft board during the War. In some divisions, men work at desks while carpenters nail up partitions around them. At conferences, electricians and telephone-company employees are likely to pop up from under tables. The higher-ups are working fourteen and sixteen hours at a stretch, subsisting on sandwiches and bottled milk, as they breast the flood of 26,000,000 old-age-annuity applications now rolling down on them.

The attacks made on the social-security act during the presidential campaign alarmed and angered the Social Security Board's officials. They now indignantly deny that they are taking on an impossible administrative task, or even one that is especially difficult. They boast of the newly designed business machines that have been installed in the clerical division in Baltimore—machines that will be able to flick through the 26,000,000 annuity accounts in less time that it takes to tell about it.

Your correspondent yields to no one in his admiration for modern office machines. Before the great check-writing machine of the A.A.A. he is filled with the same awe that Henry Adams felt toward the Virgin of Chartres. He is ready to believe that the new machines in Baltimore will be able to do everything claimed for them, although he is a great deal less sure of the infallibility of the country's 3,000,000 employers who must also, each month, furnish true payroll lists.

Nevertheless—as the social-security organization doubles, trebles and quadruples—it seems permissible to ask why individual accounts are needed at all. Why shouldn't all of us, when we reach sixty-five, get exactly the same annuity, the largest annuity that the community is able, and willing, to afford? Just what practical advantages can we expect from the immense and cumbersome administrative apparatus now being set up?

The Social Security Board spokesmen answer that the present system—under which each person receives an annuity based on the precise amount that he has earned during his working years—tends to promote self-reliance, ambition and the spirit of our American forefathers. He who works hardest, gets the most. Parasitism is rendered impossible. All of which is undoubtedly laudable, but it seems to me to assume a degree of difference in industrial wages that does not, in fact, exist. Over the greater part of industry, wage payments are much the same. Excluding the South, there is a common rate for beginners, another for semi-skilled workers and a third for skilled workers. The Bureau of Labor Statistics sets the median weekly wage payment for all manufacturing industries for last June at $22.92. The bulk of industrial workers fall within a bracket extending 10 or 15 percent on each side of this figure.

Most industrial workers, moreover, work roughly the same number of weeks each year, and their working lives last equally long. Whether or not they have the spirit of our American forefathers, they all earn in their lifetimes approximately the same total pay. Unfortunately, detailed figures on the lifetime pay of American workers are hard to find, but a number of experts believe that it is something under $30,000—a little less than $1,000 a year for a little less than thirty years.

The average weekly wage in the typewriter-manufacturing industry last June was $22.84, close to the average for all industries. Let us suppose that Pete, a worker in a typewriter factory, has good luck. He never rows with his boss, never has his company go bankrupt in depressions, and, when he is finally laid off for age, has earned a total of $30,000. His annuity would be $37.50 a month. The heavy electrical-machinery industry regularly pays better wages than the typewriter-manufacturing industry. Let us suppose that Jake, in the electrical-machine industry, earns during his lifetime 10 percent more than Pete, or $33,000. His annuity would be $40. (The annuity scale is weighted to favor the man with the smaller total earnings.) This $2.50 a month difference between Jake's and Pete's annuities—as I understand the Social Security Board's spokesmen—will establish Jake's superior Americanism, and will free Pete of all taint of parasitism. The chief task of the old-age division of the Social Security Board will be to preserve differentials between annuities no greater than this one. For this, several thousand government clerks will labor their lives through in Baltimore; for this, the beautiful, whirring business machines will flip through 26,000,000 annuity acounts each month. Somehow this seems to me carrying individualism and the spirit of the Founding Fathers to excessive lengths.

There are two valid objections that can be made to the fixing of a single annuity rate for all workers. The first is that—assuming the payroll tax is to be permanent—the main body of industrial workers ought not to be asked to carry the exceptional "slave" industries—the Southern textile industry, for example, or the canning and turpentine industries, where average weekly wage payments are between $13 and $14 and annual incomes often no more than $600 a year. But whatever old-age-annuity system is adopted, such industries will have to have special treatment. Under the present rates, the annuity for a Southern textile worker is unlikely to be more than $25 a month, which is clearly insufficient for a real heir of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

A common annuity rate for all workers would also work an injustice on factory and white-collar workers who climb out of the ruck during their working lives and attain jobs as foremen and office managers. Under the present system, such workers can hope for the top annuity of $85 a month. But since foremen and managers form only a tiny minority of all workers, it seems unnecessary to have the whole plan shaped to fit their special requirements. As in the case of the lowest-paid workers, they ought to be made a separate group.

The Lundeen social-security bill, introduced in Congress two years ago, and all other left-wing old-age-pension plans, have provided for a single rate for all pensions. In all of them, the object was not to foster ambition and self-reliance, but to enable old men and women to live in the greatest comfort and decency that the community could

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afford. It is of secondary importance, perhaps, but none of the left-wing plans demanded individual annuity accounts, a great army of government clerks or specially designed tabulating machines. In my non-expert opinion, this is another case where social idealism and common sense are not so far apart as is commonly supposed.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

One Store Equals How Many Corporations?—An Obituary for O. P. Van Sweringen —He Got Plenty for Nothing

ABOUT a month ago the Hearn Department Stores, Inc., filed with the S.E.C. an application to register some new issues of preferred and common shares. These shares are to be sold to the public, if indeed they have not already been sold. They may be the best investment in the world. I do not know. I have read the prospectus without being able to learn very much on that point. I do not therefore undertake to criticize or appraise these issues as an adventure in investment. I bring up the matter for an entirely different purpose.

The prospectus reveals some facts which might well set us to ruminating about this astonishing society which we have built. Hearn's is a well known department store in New York City. It is a large business, but certainly not a vast one. A three-million-dollar enterprise is certainly not large by the standards even of 1936. The business is located in a single spot—a series of old buildings found in part of a single city block in Fourteenth Street. And, of course, the enterprise is owned by a corporation.

This corporation is called Hearn Department Stores, Inc. Now you would suppose that that would be just about enough incorporation for a business of this size. We have set up corporation laws to enable men to unite their resources in a single enterprise. Is it not about time we asked ourselves whether or not we are going to permit them to entangle a single enterprise in a series of corporations that make it almost impossible for even an expert to find out what is going on behind the corporate wall?

Reading through this prospectus, you find that all of the outstanding stock of the company is owned by the Gramercy Corporation—165,000 shares. Some 70,000 additional shares of common are about to be sold to the public and employees. But when this is done, the control, through ownership of the 165,000 shares, will still be in the Gramercy Corporation.

But who owns the Gramercy Corporation? Half of the stock of the Gramercy Corporation is held by the Endicott Corporation. The remaining 50 percent is held by the Highland Corporation.

The Endicott Corporation is controlled by Mr. Maurice Levin, the president. The Highland Corporation is controlled by Mr. J. M. Kaplan, a relative to Mr. Levin.

But this is not the end of the corporate maze of this small business. Reading further you learn that the building occupied by Hearn Department Stores, Inc., is not owned by the company, but is owned by the Chanlan Corporation, which in turn is owned by the Endicott and Highland Corporations, which in turn are dominated by the president of Hearn's and his relatives.

The buildings, of course, are all well mortgaged and one of them sags under a second mortgage, which is held by the Blue Diamond Trading Corporation, which in turn, to use the language of the prospectus, "is controlled through various intermediate corporations, by Mr. J. M. Kaplan."

Why, I should like to ask, should not a civilized society, which thinks itself intelligent, insist that if Mr. Levin and Mr. Kaplan want to organize a corporation and run a department store they should do so without all this interminable corporate complexity; these series of personal and other holding companies? What purpose does it serve? Why should a business be concealed behind such a tangle of corporate aliases? Messrs. Levin and Kaplan may have a perfectly grand investment here which they are sharing with the public. But the nation has paid disastrously for all these corporate monkeyshines in the past and we should put an end to them forever.

While we are on this subject, may we note the passing of O. P. Van Sweringen? More particularly may we note the obituaries in The New York Times and The New York Herald Tribune? The death of this man might have furnished an excellent text for pointing a great public moral. But the newspapers could only think of the great deeds of the departed "empire builder," though what empire he built was not indicated; of wonder at the miracle of starting out with only a fourteen-million-dollar shoestring and running it up to a three-billion-dollar shoe store; of what might have happened to the projects of those two Van Sweringen brothers if the depression had not intervened, as if there were no connection between the performances of them and their tribe and the depression which, more or less, happened along.

As to their fourteen-million-dollar shoestring, they didn't begin their railroad adventures with that much. They bought the old Nickel Plate road for $8,500,000. They put up $2,000,000 and agreed to pay the balance at the rate of $650,000 a year. The agreement to buy the road they put up at the bank as collateral for the $2,000,000 loan. Then they organized the Nickel Plate Corporation—a holding company. They issued $2,075,000 of preferred stock and $12,500,000 of common. They bought $500,000 of the preferred themselves and took $500,000 of the common as a bonus. They sold $1,575,000 of the preferred to the public and handed them $1,500,000 of the common as a bonus. That left $10,000,000 common, which they took themselves. At that point $2,000,000 was due the bank, the new holding company had $2,075,000 in cash, $500,000 of which was put up by the Vans and the balance by "others," while the Vans held 8 percent of the common and 25 percent of the preferred. But they didn't even put up the $500,000 of their own money. They used the new stock as collateral for a $500,000 loan. And they used the $2,000,000 from the sale of the preferred to pay off the first bank loan. Thus, while they ran a fourteen-million-dollar shoestring to three billions, they first ran nothing up to the fourteen-million-dollar shoestring. It seems to me the papers can find richer material for their panegyrics.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

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Around Eight-Thirty

Tonight at Eight-Thirty, by Noel Coward. National Theatre, November 24, 27, 30, 1936.

Prelude to Exile, by William McNally. Guild Theatre, November 30, 1936.

THE SCHEME to be recorded for Mr. Noel Coward's "Tonight at Eight-Thirty" is a group of nine one-act pieces, to be presented three at a time on three evenings. The company is small, in general the plays are built on leading parts for Mr. Coward and Miss Gertrude Lawrence. The pieces run the way of domestic comedy, comedy of manners, tragi-comedy—tragedy intended—and romance or sentiment partly made up of singing and dancing.

Of all the list the greatest success falls to such a piece as "Hands Across the Sea." The thread of its story is the turning up at a fashionable and busy lady's flat in London of a couple she has stayed with in the course of her travels; she cannot place them, their names or the colonial town where they had been hospitable. Amid a tangle of visitors, drinks, telephone calls and social confusions, she works her way to this very personal knowledge. This little piece is perfection itself, and in a way has been created strictly within the theatre. It is one of those happy things born from a dramatic germ, grown into a shining life on the stage, built up during rehearsals, impossible to record anywhere save there in the place it comes to life. A small acquaintance with the problems of staging a scene will tell anybody what a triumph this is, what patience, fun, freedom and resource went to its development. There is no way to write down what a glitter ensues, a flowing rhythm of wit in stage terms, of lines, business, ensemble, give and take. This is Mr. Coward's field. It illustrates the security with which he can always count on revues, facile ideas, and a great variety of actable theatre devices.

As to the more serious ventures, I have noted some sort of shyness about saying frankly that they are pretty sad pickings. In divers friends and divers critics there appears this ill-at-ease feeling . . . "If you," says one critic on a morning newspaper, "insist upon being boorish, they are all trite subjects—hardly more than anecdotes," et cetera. Knowing, from the history of his reviews, some of this critic's appreciations, I feel fairly sure that "The Astonished Heart," for example, must have bored him considerably, that he knew its staleness as serious drama. But still he feels that it would be boorish to rub this in.

That attitude seems to me a way of describing certain main aspects of Mr. Coward's serious writing. The feeling of boorishness at being thus critical may derive from the fact that the best claim these efforts have on our applause, or even pleasurable attention, will lie in a kind of house-party quality. It is plainly silly to go on putting down the frequent lack of any acting at all to reserve, restraint, elimination, suggestion and all that. And it is useless to pretend that the dramatic development of the theme is important, or the singing and dancing very good. The point is that you feel academic or boorish taking certain positions. What this amounts to is that there is created on the stage (and no small accomplishment it is) a certain hospitable willingness to rise and shine, to entertain guests. Under this panoply the poor dancing and singing, the frequent lack of acting, may be an asset, or to some people may be so; everything comes back to the house-party week-end. You may even like the player better because he merely tosses it off, so to speak. The critic's point about the subjects being "trite," however, is not entirely happy. Most subjects in good drama are, as in life, apt to be familiar; only by treatment do they become trite. A notable thing to be said of such an effort as this is that it can give what amounts to being ham without seeming to be professional. This quality must always have among certain temperaments an appeal: it affords them the essence of the ham appeal without any exposure of the professional means to it. To such temperaments the sense of the professional is tedious; finesse is a hit below the belt. They prefer their cat to get the fish without wetting his paws.

After a good deal of thought on the subject, this is about the best I can do by way of comment. I should add that now and then in these more serious Coward reaches there appear a line, a tint, a stage device, a bit of direction, that are his very own, and are pure theatre genius. I should also add that Miss Gertrude Lawrence as an artist has grown steadily; she is now a brilliant comedy actress, precise, fluent and versatile. And finally I will say for these ambitious works of Mr. Coward's that they differ in these two respects from the usual banal or assuming or muffed entertainment that is boring: they have, on their part, a certain continuous promise of, or incitement to hope for, imagination and invention—a resumé, rather later on, of some of them in a few lines might sound like quite a drama bit. On your part they at least pique you into trying to locate the exact source of your restive boredom.

The new play at the Theatre Guild sets out to show us how a motif in a great opera came into being. Wagner is turning his love for Mathilde Wesendonck into Tristan's love for Isolde. There are the complications of the household, of art and domesticity. As matters progress we are shown how the desired motif was written, straight from Mathilde to the pianoforte, as simple as that. In the end Wagner leaves, alone but for the envelope of money that Mathilde's husband has provided, and his wife and the audience, musical and unmusical, are left to make the best of it.

For my part I am not entirely apt at judging such a play, since I prefer a fifth-rate entertainment about somebody and something to a fourth-rate entertainment about nobody and nothing. I differ from some critics—note certain recent manifestations—in that I am not thrown into a rage by the presumption of high matter. After some such fashion I rather enjoyed this play about Wagner, despite its dragging moments and its occasional brutality.

This brutality ensues from what may be seen as underlying the whole problem to be met by these dramas that deal with historical characters in the realm of art. That Wagner, for example, might find it necessary to leave home and follow his own nature is to be imagined; it is conceivably true of any artist. But the hard necessity remains that enough of the air and exigency of art must be created to give to this tragic issue its spiritual locale, otherwise we have only cruelty, cruel life, crude theatre scene.

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To judge Mr. Wilfrid Lawson's results in the role of Wagner, we must recall his picture in such a play as "Libel," a world apart. The real Wagner was doubtless both a better and a worse creature than Mr. Lawson can create, but going into that may be asking too much of any player. Miss Lucile Watson as the Countess D'Agoult, Liszt's former mistress, mother of the Cosima who, forsaking von Bülow, became Wagner's wife, gave a performance well graded and highly intelligent.

STARK YOUNG.

Laughton of the Movies

THE VOTE for best screen citizen must certainly go at times to Charles Laughton; without him there is no knowing what would have happened to Alexander Korda's new version of Rembrandt. For "Rembrandt" as a picture is massive rather than neat on its feet, being heavy of motion and Old Testament in accent. But with Laughton standing up under it in the make-up of his several ages, dominant in his constant mobility and command of lines, filling in the written part with his own character and conception of character, there is no doubt that the picture is good, at times pretty grand.

Outside of Gertrude Lawrence (a fine example of divination and strong style), Elsa Lanchester and the beggar, the support is that degree of adequate which escapes particular notice. And outside of certain necessary considerations, the production angle never stands out as what makes the film good. The interior sets are solid and have a good air, and while some of the outdoors has that fixed, flat, backdrop feeling, there is an appropriate swimming of things in clear space and enough of the tidy quaint atmosphere of another time and place to keep this from being disturbing. (Partly because Georges Perinal was at the camera, no doubt, finding beauty all along the way in a bridge, a kitchen corner, an angled roof, windows.)

The main points of attraction are Laughton and the idea of Rembrandt. Once someone is found who will make the character credible and big, much has been done to support the story with meaning and excitement. I can't pretend to legislate on what was or was not in the private life of the painter, but certainly a likely and satisfying figure is built up here—granting the inevitable distortion both of the theatrical précis and of the man's being made purer than life, less jealous, wrong, selfish. The story takes Rembrandt just as he is losing Saskia, and leaves him in the final stages. Its emphasis is divided between his experience of the delights and buffets of the world, and the study of a man gifted above and driven beyond his fellows and still needing their love and respect sorely.

The story serves its purpose, but beyond that there is a reliance on and reading of the Hebrew poets that gives a strange air of fitting majesty in places. And here is where Laughton goes beyond carriage, make-up, expression. He has a beautiful sense for reading poetry, rolling out these great deep rhythms of the Old Testament as fine as ever was heard. He is learned in all the devices of voice and attack—in particular he is good at floating a period by starting it with a full resonant beat, so that the rest carries along after it with the solemnity and ponderous sustained rolling of the night freight—but he goes farther than devices: he comes to poetry in the right way. That is, he comes with the true appreciation for the subtle taste of its words and with a wide reverence for its dignity, neither to deny its frank inflections nor to vulgarize its complexities of pitch and stress with some recitation in sing-song with gestures. No apology, no emendation as by actor's business. The emotion is there, but it is felt in terms of reserves not called upon, central and under control. And so he can apply his method—long bold phrases, their internal monotony and fall heightening the variety of pitch among them, the overtones blending with the whole—and make the old words live with simple belief and fall into music that is usually heard only in the mind. "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair. . . ."

But this is no mere exercise. The poetry is a part of the character and part of the story, through the initial architecture. In Laughton's first long speech (going on mightily about women) there is evidence enough that in the writing Karl Zuckmayer did wisely in forsaking adlibbed high points for Scriptural quotation and paraphrase. But the stuff has been quarried and used so well that there could have been nothing more appropriate for Rembrandt's moments of triumph, despair, exhortation or prophecy than his measure from the Psalms, his parables and story of Saul and reading from the great Bible at his father's table, finally his old voice rising great through the laughter of the young: "I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit" (and the picture fades on that loose massive face, wise in the mirror of another self-portraiture, and the words fading) "Vanity of vanities, all. . . ."

Establishing valid moments in a life, these periods give it continuity and a meaning. Laughton starts as the young idol, flown with the insolence and wine of success; losing his wife and his public he hears the first mutterings and confronts them with grandeur and insolence still; he becomes more alone and bitter with purpose, strikes up with his neat housekeeper but cannot follow her pattern of economic respectability; he becomes more hard and reckless in the pride of his art and goes home, but that simple life cannot be recaptured and he leaves in just one more humiliation and defeat; returning to the city, always older and more wise, he falls in love with a servant girl and lives with her, his great house gone, in an Indian summer of their poverty and love and her failing health. There is little after her death but the years which pass over and the growing carelessness of destitution. The last phase may have a bit too much of twinkle and senility—but when the merrymakers find that this genial old cadge is Rembrandt Van Rijn and start back, perhaps with the name already ringing awe in their careless ears, he thanks them for their wine with a very human sweetness, standing with true dignity in his rags, his face flabby from age and full living and winking after the girls, but still suggesting a final anchorage of the spirit in the wisdom of the cynic: "While the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain. . . ."

Whatever brevity and abruptness are imposed on this by

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the writing, facts, production, there remains the fact that Charles Laughton and Scripture and the latitude given both have rounded it out, so that we have some idea of how the rough busy world might look to such a queer type as a great Dutch painter, and see the mortal weaknesses tied up with a driving, immortal talent.

"The Yellow Cruise" (Fifty-fifth Street Playhouse in New York) is ninety-two minutes of the pictures taken on the great Citroen expedition from Syria over the Himalayas and North China to Pekin. Poorly edited but an amazing thing—not only for the long perils of the trek itself, but for the rich documentary stuff on unknown people, their country, customs and practically impossibe life.

OTIS FERGUSON.

The Bandwagon

Contrary to the popular idea, there has been too much wealth too widely distributed in this country, especially since the beginning of the century, for the good of the people materially, morally and spiritually.—*Leo M. Crafts, B.L., M.D., writing in The Journal-Lancet.*

REST IN TURMOIL

Tombstones are the latest objects of Nazi coördination. Beginning with metropolitan cemeteries, plain flat memorial slabs, of one standard size, will replace raised mounds and ornamental stones.

Orders have gone forth that graveyards shall in future be laid out square. Joseph Pertl, the official in charge, told the press that "existing cemeteries are too often labyrinths of liberalism, individualism, separatism and anarchism, whereas they should be simple and dignified."—*A.P. dispatch from Berlin.*

CAUSE AND EFFECT?

Heaviest Receipts of Cattle in 5 Years Drop Prices 10 cents to 25 cents; Hogs Also Lower.

Packers Forecast Rise in Meat Prices.—*Two headlines in The New York Times on the same day.*

DEFINITIONS OF PACIFISM: I

Pacifism is to the true love of peace what prohibition is to temperance. It is the image of virtue distorted by heresy. —*The Very Rev. Robert I. Gannon, president of Fordham University, quoted in The New York Times.*

OUR SILVER-LINING DEPARTMENT

That the poor will always be present is a good thing for society, in the opinion of Dr. W. R. Atkinson, professor of psychology at Southwestern [University].

"There will always be ditches to be dug and one type of people is more adaptable to ditch-digging than another," he told an audience at the University Club last night.—*News item in The Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal.*

PUSILLANIMITY TO YOU, GENERAL

Brigadier General Hamilton S. Hawkins in an address before Roanoke Lions last night said that "to raise youths with ideas of the horror of war so that they will refuse to go to war is nothing short of poltroonery."—*From The Roanoke (Va.) World News.*

CORRESPONDENCE

"Pacifism: Its Rise and Fall"

SIR: May I thank you for the superb New Republic of November 18, and particularly for the fine conclusion to Bruce Bliven's article, "Pacifism: Its Rise and Fall"? A clear lead is tremendously needed here, for the peace-movement machinery seems to have been completely captured by the non-resisters. I would be willing to swear that the President and Secretary Hull have been told that "the entire peace movement is against sanctions," as George Lansbury was evidently told in regard to the American people, from his English speeches reported in The Manchester Guardian in June.

Will Mr. Bliven not express further the views of the very large number of peace lovers who might indeed be against the United States' taking an active part in sanctions, but who see very little hope for European peace except in a strengthened application of Article 16 of the Covenant, and do not wish to sabotage it? Surely the wave of enthusiastic approval here for the League of Nations' early action, and the disgust following England's rush to drop sanctions, meant something. It meant that we do want to distinguish between aggressor and victim; I am convinced that the vast majority of the public, including peace people, do—in spite of all the peace societies' resolutions. Our emergency neutrality legislation is bad enough, but to have it frozen into an international treaty, once and for all, would be monstrous.

Washington, D. C. ETHEL PUFFER HOWES.

D. H. Lawrence and Fascism

SIR: Mr. Harry K. Wells, writing from Cambridge, Massachusetts, asserts that Mr. Granville Hicks's remark about D. H. Lawrence's having given "encouragement to the fascist mind" is "nonsense." [The New Republic, November 18.] The following passage, the concluding paragraph of "Movements in European History"—the book which Lawrence wrote for the Oxford Press during the year that followed the War—may throw some light on the difference of opinion between Mr. Wells and Mr. Hicks:

> But we must never forget that mankind lives by a twofold motive: the motive of peace and increase, and the motive of contest and martial triumph. As soon as the appetite for martial adventure and triumph in conflict is satisfied, the appetite for peace and increase manifests itself, and *vice versa.* It seems a law of life. Therefore a great united Europe of productive working-people, all materially equal, will never be able to continue and remain firm unless it unites also round one great chosen figure, some hero who can lead a great war, as well as administer a wide peace. It all depends on the will of the people. But the will of the people must concentrate in one figure, who is also supreme over the will of the people. He must be chosen, but at the same time responsible to God alone. Here is a problem of which a stormy future will have to evolve the solution.

Northampton, Mass. NEWTON ARVIN.

A Tourist Boycott of Fascism

SIR: Why wouldn't it be an excellent thing to organize a tourist boycott against Italy?

One of the great difficulties about liberalism and pacifism is that the average citizen has no opportunity to materialize his convictions until some emergency arises, and then it is frequently too late. But here is a way in which tens of thousands of Americans who may be planning trips abroad, and hundreds of thousands of others who would like to but cannot manage it, can express their repugnance to the prevailing Italian attitudes and practices in a concrete and effective way.

A young woman of my acquaintance who went abroad this summer deliberately excluded Italy from her itinerary, in spite of a passionate longing to see its beauties, because of her unwillingness to support in the slightest degree the ventures for which some of her travel money could have been spent. It was a brave and gallant gesture, quite in keeping with her sincere humanitarianism. But unfortunately Mussolini will never hear of it.

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Such efforts must be organized, and just to the extent that they are organized they will touch a fascist government in its most sensitive spot, its pocketbook nerve. Italy has been proclaimed an aggressor by the consensus of the nations of the world, and is continuing to justify that characterization by each successive move she makes. The individual American, therefore, whose personal sensibilities are outraged by the callous brutalities of the present Italian regime, can feel that he has the judgment of humanity behind him when he refuses to set foot as a tourist on Italian soil as long as a fascist government retains control.

Well, and why not Germany too? Yes, if you like. But there is this difference. Nazi Germany has not yet engaged in any international venture as flagrant as the rape of Ethiopia. She has not yet been officially proclaimed an aggressor. Hitler and his minions appear very eager to retain the good will and the good money of foreign tourists. Possibly there is a chance here to exercise some actual prevention. An effective tourist boycott of Italy might prove a salutary deterrent to Germany.

New York City. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD.

Production-for-Use and Progressivism

SIR: The depression was generally credited, at least during its early stages, with the leftward drive of American intellectuals; no single event seemed more significant in the shift of our "liberals" to a "radical" position than The New Republic's definite change of front last year from capitalist reformism to collectivism.

But now, with the coming of what the financial pages refer to as "recovery," there are alarming symptoms that "radicals" are once more turning out to be "liberals," and again an indirect but unmistakable editorial comment in The New Republic may be of considerable significance. In your issue of December 2 you congratulate the "progressives" of the Washington Commonwealth Federation because they "voted almost unanimously to scrap the stereotyped production-for-use motto and to adopt a new, more specific program" of "solidly progressive measures."

Those familiar with the development of modern American radicalism, as distinct from hothouse Marxism and nineteenth-century Populism, know that no state reached a higher level of popular understanding of the limitations of capitalism and the possibilities of a socialist economy (read "production-for-use") than Washington. The production-for-use initiative petition, "Number 110," which obtained a place on the ballot in the last election, was the most radical proposal ever submitted to the electorate of any state.

But the W.C.F. was largely captured during the campaign by aspiring Democrats, who found ready allies in the new advocates of a "popular front" disguised as "progressivism." The initiative measure was killed (with the further aid, to be sure, of Big Business, which broadcast that it would "sovietize" Washington, and of the state Federation of Labor, which did not understand it). The radicals had already been forced out of the W.C.F. along with its president, Cyrus Woodward, who saw it being betrayed. And finally the delegates at the state convention ("of whom," you declare, with evident pride, "181 were from trade unions") scrapped production-for-use.

That reference to the trade-union delegates in abandoning the socialist aims of a movement is probably in line with your recent definite advocacy of an American "Labor Party" (as in your editorial of November 25). For "The Bankruptcy of the British Labor Party" is headlined on the cover of the same issue in which you congratulate Washington Labor and "progressives" for scrapping production-for-use—the theory being, no doubt, that it was the advocacy of socialism which reduced the British Labor Party to bankruptcy.

New York City. ALFRED M. BINGHAM.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The way the Yale authorities handled the case of Jerome Davis, as discussed in the supplement of The New Republic for November 18, makes him feel as he did when, as an exchange student, he watched the burning of the books in Nazi Germany, J. W. Perry, of East Aurora, New York, writes us. . . . Dr. L. Eldridge, of Great Neck, New York, thinks that the last paragraph of Yale's statement in that supplement was an admission of guilt. . . . A copy of a letter to President Angell comes from G. D. Shipman, of Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin. In it he says he is satisfied "that your faculty members are unable to maintain their intellectual integrity upon public affairs."

Charles T. Jackson of Washington, D. C., does not entirely agree with Herbert A. Fierst's contention [in "Consumer Coöperation and Labor": The New Republic for November 18] that consumer cooperation should be an adjunct to a strong labor movement, but thinks it would be more valid to regard the two as "twin tools by which the bulk of our citizens may seek and gain their salvation." . . . Harold Wattenburg, president of the West Bronx Consumers' Coöperative Club, New York City, says that they have been fighting against the officials who want to preserve the status quo in regard to coöperatives and that the Bronx may see the first mass attempt along the lines Mr. Fierst suggested.

Harvey Dawson of Cambridge, Massachusetts, hopeful of a labor party, suggests the ticket of Bob La Follette for President and John L. Lewis for Vice President.

The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, writes us that $150 is still needed for Fred Werrmann to depart for another country, or else this anti-Nazi refugee will be deported to Germany by the Department of Labor.

A good word for single tax is sent in by R. K. Demarest of New York City, who recommends Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" to the attention of our readers.

Research into the nature of our society, compiled and distributed to trade unions, coöperatives, consumers' and farmers' organizations and the like, is being carried on by Labor Research Front, a non-profit organization in New York City at 21 East Seventeenth Street, which informs us that it will welcome assistance as well as contributions.

John Firman Coar, of Kingston, Massachusetts, sends us a copy of his proposed amendment to the Constitution which would set up a National Economic Council composed of representatives of capital and labor in ten groups of industry, to regulate the commercial life of the nation. . . . A proposal to amend the Constitution so as to eliminate the electoral college and have the President and Vice President elected by a majority or plurality of the entire popular vote comes to us from George William Veditz of Colorado Springs, Colorado. Mr. Veditz has sent his proposal to Senator Norris of Nebraska.

The Joint Committee to Aid the Kentucky Miners' Defense, 75 Fifth Avenue, New York City, appeals for funds, and for letters to be written to Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky, in the cases of W. B. Jones, Chester Poore, Jim Reynolds and Al Benson, who have now been in jail more than five years, serving life terms on charges arising from a fight between a picket-line and coal-company guards in Evarts, in which three guards and one miner were killed. Three men have previously been pardoned, by former Governor Ruby Laffoon, and forty of the forty-seven living jurors in the remaining cases have signed petitions for pardon.

What's on the Air?

Professor Jerome Davis of Yale University and others analyze the recent Tampa convention of the A.F. of L. in a program, "Which Way Labor?" Saturday, December 12, 2 to 2:30 P.M., C.B.S.

Informal comment on current affairs in London by Alistair Cooke, British author and critic. Every Sunday, 11:15 to 11:30 A.M., N.B.C.-Blue Network.

General Hugh S. Johnson addressing the Hudson County Bar Association. Saturday, December 12, 10:30 P.M., C.B.S.

Radio debate between Stanford and Princeton Universities on the subject: "Resolved, That Government Should Control Minimum Wages and Hours." Saturday, December 19, 2 to 2:45 P.M., N.B.C.-Blue Network.

Professor John Eberhart of the Psychology Department of Northwestern University inaugurates a new series of weekly broadcasts in which students, professors and the general public discuss current controversial topics. Monday, December 21, 10:30 P.M., C.B.S.

All times given are Eastern Standard.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

A Poet's Anthology

AS A MIRROR of our age, as a compendium of the best English and Irish poems written since 1892, "The Oxford Book of Modern Verse"[1] suffers a little from the virtues of its editor. William Butler Yeats is too great a poet to be the perfect anthologist. He is too sure of his opinions, formed and fixed by half a century of reflection, to be very tolerant of opinions with which they conflict. His taste has been refined by twenty thousand hours of writing and revision and self-criticism. In general it is superb, but he follows it too far and struggles a little too weakly against its occasional lapses.

There are, at any rate, a dozen or more contemporary poets whom he has never learned to appreciate at their full value. I am not thinking of the Americans, omitted here with the exception of three poets "who by subject, or by long residence in Europe, seem to English readers a part of their own literature." Yeats explains, quite reasonably, that he could not hope to acquire sufficient knowledge of American poetry to make a representative selection. But he is less convincing when he explains his treatment of certain English poets—Wilfred Owen, for example, of whom he gives us not a single line. "I have rejected these poems," he says in his introduction, "for the same reason that made Arnold withdraw his 'Empedocles on Etna' from circulation; passive suffering is not a theme for poetry." But passive suffering is not the beginning or end of Owen's poetry, which can better be defined as an active and even violent attempt to make people see and hear and feel the wartime suffering of others. T. S. Eliot gets much better treatment, with seven poems printed in full. But there is nothing from "The Waste Land"—nothing except four lines quoted by Yeats in the introduction, with an unfavorable comment. "I was affected, as I am by these lines, when I saw for the first time a painting by Manet. I longed for the vivid color and light of Rousseau and Courbet. I could not endure the gray middle-tint." So instead of "A Game of Chess" and "The Fire Sermon"—the gray middle-tint of Eliot at his best—we are given the early "Preludes" and the later religious poems. D. H. Lawrence is not mentioned in the introduction, but I doubt that Yeats feels any deep sympathy for his work; the six poems quoted here are lacking in his peculiar intensity. These three men, with Yeats himself, are probably the most important figures in recent English poetry, and Yeats is unjust to all of them—even to himself, for he completely omits his early work in favor of poems written since the Irish revolution.

On the other hand, he proclaims a vast enthusiasm for several minor poets whom I find it hard to admire even mildly. W. J. Turner is one of these. There are twelve of his poems quoted, and they completely fail to justify Yeats's comment that they exhibit "a control of plastic material, a power of emotional construction, Pound has always lacked." Except in his earlier lyrics, Turner seems prosy and philosophically muddled. Edith Sitwell gets even more space, and is even worse. Indeed, the anthology contains entirely too much and too many of the Sitwell tribe, as if Yeats had been overawed by their high opinion of themselves. Oliver St. John Gogarty (Joyce's Buck Mulligan) is another elegant poet rated at more than his true value. He makes me think of words like *sangfroid* and *chic* and *savoir-faire*—in a word, he makes me think of Mr. Lucius Beebe, the night-club editor of The New York Herald Tribune. Yeats's appreciation of all these minor figures seems less critical than creative. He reads his own qualities of ripeness and melody and precision into poems that possess them not at all.

Quite possibly an editor who was a third-rate instead of a first-rate poet might have compiled a better anthology—better, that is, in the sense of being more representative and more useful to students of contemporary literature. Still, I doubt that such a book would be as good for the general reader. It would not delight or infuriate him, as Yeats does on every page of the long introduction; and neither would it surprise him by presenting the work of poets who are sneered at or unknown. No matter how many faults one may find in "The Oxford Book of Modern Verse," it has the quality of being continually alive. And it makes the English poetry of the last forty years seem more exciting than the picture of it that had slowly been forming in our minds.

But was it so exciting in reality? Yeats believes that "England has had more good poets from 1900 to the present day than during any period of the same length since the early seventeenth century. There are no predominant figures, no Browning, no Tennyson, no Swinburne, but more than I have found room for have written two, three or half a dozen lyrics that may be permanent." I wonder whether a critic of the distant future would agree with him. Let us imagine that a thousand years have passed and that Yeats's anthology has luckily been saved from the last burning of the books. Let us imagine that inscriptions in stone or bronze have also survived (along with our primitive machine guns) and that the critic of the future can decipher the general outlines of our era. What would he say about the English poets of the early nineteen-hundreds?

Wouldn't he say first of all that they lacked conviction? That they were skilled in manipulating a language they had learned from books, but that they seldom appeared to be deeply interested in the subjects with which they were ostensibly dealing? These subjects were chiefly nature, history and religion. But the poets did not praise nature for its own sake, as it had been praised by the Elizabethans. Always understood in their descriptions of country lanes bright with hawthorn buds and sweet with songbirds was the fact that the lanes were being invaded, the buds and birds destroyed, by a factory civilization which the poets were trying to escape. It was the same with their treatment of history. When they wrote about Samarcand or Alexander or the Spanish Main, they were not trying to present the real past. Instead they were fleeing into a realm of myth, hoping to find there a sense of dignity or a reason for living that was absent from their daily environment. Even their religious poems were not written out of belief, but rather out of the feeling that disbelief was uncomfortable. They seemed to be saying, "Yes, I do really believe, in spite of what you say."

And so—the future critic would continue—these early twentieth-century poets had the vice of divided attention. They talked about one thing while brooding over another. The real subject was their personal lives—their lives that

[1] The Oxford Book of Modern Verse, chosen by W. B. Yeats. New York: Oxford University Press. 499 pages. $3.

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were lacking in beauty (thus driving them to nature), lacking in dignity (thus driving them into the past) and lacking in value (thus driving them into the church). Their real subject was the predicament of the individual in a society that affronts his pride, that keeps him walled within himself. But they rarely had courage to face their real subject. That is why the poets of this age (with the exception of a few honest ones like Yeats and Lawrence and Eliot) were forgotten even before the collapse in war of the civilization that had nourished them. MALCOLM COWLEY.

Back to the Constitution!

The Commerce Power versus States' Rights, by Edward S. Corwin. Princeton University Press. 290 pages. $2.50.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL Dickinson, in his argument for the constitutionality of the Guffey coal bill, stated the essence of the present dispute between the administration and the Supreme Court as follows: "The issue of federal power is here at stake, whether there lurk within the Constitution crevices through which federal power may have sifted away." It is to this issue that Professor Corwin has devoted this book.

The book is particularly timely today. In these times of bitter political hostility it has been difficult for anyone to see beyond the immediate political effect of Supreme Court decisions on the fortunes of the Roosevelt administration. A hostile press has regarded the Constitution as a partisan weapon against the administration. Editorial writers have used constitutional slogans as a merchant uses advertising slogans—to sell a product without reference to its merits. The American Bar Association, under the guise of unbiased and scholarly research, has permitted its supposedly non-partisan forum to be a platform from which the Constitution has been thrown into politics.

The issue that has emerged from all this uproar has been presented to the public as a battle between irresponsible theorists trying to destroy American liberties and the Supreme Court trying to protect them. There is practically no public understanding of recent dissenting opinions, the general impression being that the dissenting Justices are supporters of Mr. Roosevelt. In the confusion resulting from the public impression that the Court has been stopping reprehensible New Deal activity, ancient federal power has been stripped away and an area of business activity has been created that is beyond the control of either state or federal government, and all this has been accomplished without protest from the great majority of substantial conservatives of this country, who have no adequate realization of what has happened.

Professor Corwin's book is a brilliantly executed argument against the thesis that the Constitution has given the national government no power over problems national in scope. The trick by which federal power has been limited has been to consider the powers reserved to the states as powers capable of definition without reference to the powers delegated to the federal government. The majority of the Court has assumed that an expressly delegated power is limited by what Mr. Justice Holmes has called "some invisible radiation from the general terms of the Tenth Amendment." It is in the exposure of this trick that Professor Corwin's volume reaches real heights of eloquence and persuasiveness. The motto of the volume is "Back to the Constitution." With unanswerable logic and a wealth of historical research Professor Corwin shows that the Supreme Court has set itself directly in opposition to the doctrine of John Marshall; that they have revived the notions of state sovereignty which found such a violent expression in the South just before the Civil War.

The effect of such notions is, of course, far different today from what it was in 1850. Then the sovereignty claimed by the states represented real power that the states could exercise and was demanded by the states themselves. Today the power to solve agricultural problems, problems of railway pensions, problems of the relation of labor and capital are not powers that any single state can exercise in any actual sense. They are theoretical powers set up to defeat control by the only agency with real ability to control—the federal government.

The battle today is not one in which independent democratic state governments fight to preserve their identity and to exercise their actual sovereignty over local affairs. It is rather the struggle of an industrial feudalism, having nothing to do with state lines, to escape democratic government.

All this Professor Corwin makes abundantly clear. He is not interested in the recent political campaign. He is a thorough conservative, anxious to preserve the constitutional system. He therefore fears an amendment which, in order to reach the present problem, might have to be so sweeping as to destroy the Supreme Court as an arbiter between states and nation. His hope is that sober second thought on the part of the Court may induce it to follow the minority opinion of Mr. Justice Stone on the Agricultural Adjustment Act. He is deeply concerned, as an intelligent conservative should be, by the radical and novel character of the recent doctrine of states' rights, which appears so clearly when its conservative trappings have been swept away. His own statement of the issue is as follows:

> The attempt to set up the reserve powers of the states as an independent limitation upon the delegated powers of the United States is neither more nor less than a proposal to destroy the most vital single provision of the Constitution—the supremacy clause—in the guise of construing the Constitution.

THURMAN ARNOLD.

New Faces

The New American Caravan, edited by Alfred Kreymborg, Lewis Mumford and Paul Rosenfeld. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 663 pages. $3.95.

IN ANYONE at all concerned about the development of an American literature, the appearance of a new edition of "The American Caravan" is bound to arouse a certain amount of anticipatory interest. Here is a publication, unique of its kind, that brings to the field of books the same non-commercial standards the little magazines bring to theirs; that offers to the young or the unknown writer a hearing for his longer works he frequently can find nowhere else; that, in its four previous editions, has—in Caldwell, Cantwell, Halper, Wolfe, etc.—a distinguished list of literary "finds" already to its credit.

One opens the book, then, primarily in a mood for discovery, looking for new names, new faces. Though the present collection is, in this respect, somewhat disappointing, it is not entirely so; and though it contains a surprising number of old and very familiar stylistic faces (even when the names attached to some of them are new), there are a few newcomers whose work not only is good now but shows also a vigor and inventiveness that lead one definitely to expect even better from them in the future.

Richard Wright, with his long short story, "Big Boy

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Leaves Home," is one of these. Though the defiant leanness of his style is pushed at times to the point of skinniness, it provides a medium well suited to convey the wayward indolence of the four Negro boys who are the principal figures in the story, and the causeless horror of the tragedy in which they become involved. More important, it seems to me, is the feeling one has throughout that it is *his own style,* developed out of his own resources to express his particular observation.

"Bushel of Wheat; Bushel of Barley," a novelette by Paul Corey, is also excellent. Laid on one of the huge new insurance-company-operated farms that are the product of the wholesale foreclosures of a few years ago in the Middle West, it tells the story of the awakening to a sense of sober social consciousness of a young farmhand; if the plot seems a little thin, as the author handles it, the reader's interest is still sustained by Mr. Corey's sureness of understanding and vivid descriptions of farm life and farm operations.

The best piece of all, however, in the sense of being the most interesting and artistically the most adventurous, is Delmore Schwartz's "Choosing Company." A play, or "a dramatic poem . . . perhaps, an oratorio"—the author himself, in his prefatory note, shows himself a little undecided as to what to call it—whatever it is, the plot of the little drama is simple enough: a young law student, finding his mistress pregnant, calls in a friend of his, a medical student, to attempt an abortion; the operation is performed, the girl dies. Mr. Schwartz, however, has so well realized all the implications of his theme, and so clearly expressed them with the aid both of a lively, sardonic, but consistently poetic diction and a number of unconventional but vivid theatrical devices, that—particularly in the last scene, when other students, university officials, policemen, passersby irrupt into the tragic room and the meaning becomes universal—his contribution remains the most hauntingly suggestive one in the book.

Add to these a really biting study of the sources of Nazism, "Sound of Trumpets," a short story by Ernest Brace; a loosely constructed but somehow moving story by Eugene Joffe called "Month Before Last"; a novelette, "Vain Voyage," by Fred Rothermell, that fascinates by its very grotesquerie; plays, poems, stories by Conrad Aiken, William Carlos Williams, Sherwood Anderson, Witter Bynner, even E. E. Cummings, and others to the number of forty-four, or plenty for anyone's money's worth—and one is left with the question: why the feeling of disappointment that remains when one has read the volume through?

The causes of my own disappointment are not hard to place, though they derive, I am ready to admit, in large part from too great expectation. Apart from the three writers mentioned earlier in this review, there is no new work shown that is in any sense experimental or that bears the stamp of an individually thought-out method; on the contrary, there is a preponderance of work that reflects, not quite well enough to be successful, already established and well explored techniques ("stream-of-consciousness," "objective naturalism," etc.), and that is therefore, it seems to me, out of place in such a collection as this.

Whether or not the editors are to blame for this it is impossible to say, though the presence of so many well known names on the list, and the absence of others, such as Ben Field, Edwin Seaver, Alex Godin, lead one to suspect a perhaps unavoidable tendency to institutionalize "The Caravan." I believe, however, that there is a deeper reason than this. By far the most powerful influence in our literature today is the proletarian, and it will be remembered that until very recently the attitude of those mainly responsible for the direction of young proletarian writers was one of impatience with technical experiment, of insistence on content to the exclusion of form (as if the two were divisible); there was even an essentially romantic tendency to glorify formlessness, lack of precision and style, as being in itself an expression of the disruptive aims of the literature.

That this movement was ill advised I think the present collection clearly shows, for the effect has been to divorce the majority of the younger writers from any sense of continuity with either the past or the future, and to leave them with—as the methods easiest to hand—only the styles of contemporary magazine fiction as their guides. It should never be forgotten that before the novel of revolution can be written, the novel itself must first be revolutionized.

ROBERT M. COATES.

Look in His Eye

Why Should Penguins Fly? and Other Stories, by Dwight Fiske. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. 156 pages. $2.50.

IN THE first book of songs, poems, imp's chronicles, whatever they are, two years ago, Mr. Dwight Fiske had his Queen Anne take from out her Great Royal Bosom an old chair, then a commode, and last but not least a GREAT REFECTORY TABLE that would seat FORTY. Her action was sympathetic, her habit was catching; for the author in this new volume of his takes out of the Muse's bosom one happy object after another, seats forty more characters at this table so incessantly musical, that light-fingered music that picks our solemn pockets. There are twenty-five pieces in the list, beginning with "Why Do Penguins Fly?" and ending with "Uncle Tom's Cabaña." From New York, auction rooms, art galleries, the Mediterranean, the early Renaissance, to Florida the line moves steadily. Now and again it is for a moment halted by excess of light joy, moral slipping, just as the procession in "Wing-Toy and Ky-Fy" was "rudely interrupted in front of Wing-Toy's shop by two slightly overtrained elephants who were performing out of turn." But the wit, the observation and the glancing, tangential mind are all constantly in evidence.

What is this mind tangential to? Well, you must read the book to see that. Tangential to human folly, nonsense, obese self-indulgence, and to an outrageous comprehension of the working of vanity within us (it is not that we are vain, Mr. Fiske is too wise to insist on that, but that vanity is strong within us, refusing to let us be put out of countenance). And this is why there are such goings-on among the people of this book, why some of them cannot "tell the cherry from the orange," and why you must remember well all you ever did or heard of Sin, so to speak, in order to understand Mr. Fiske's art and affability. One of his sad facts is that he has that, at the moment, inexcusability of education and ancestors. He should at least let his LEFT HAND know what his RIGHT HAND does.

Thousands in New York and London have heard Mr. Fiske explain in the Penguin aria how LUCY THE PENGUIN disgraced her mother by being born in the midst of her engagement party, so that the parents were cast out by society, and Lucy, having neither voice nor beauty, naturally turned to the stage, and ended by an establishment in the Auk's fine house, though she never saw daylight again, being always under his wing, until in time he perished in A FIGURE EIGHT. As she said later to the little *shut-in-girls* of THE SOUTHERN CROSS BIDE-A-WEE . . .

> Dear Girls . . .
> you will NEVER know

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What it is to be pursued UNDER WATER
by a lover going
THIRTY MILES AN HOUR . . .
it was HEAVEN . . .
but I . . . thank God . . .
could only do
TWENTY-SIX. . . .

They have heard, too, of the terra-cotta dolphin, of how we live at the Everglades, and of all things they know that brilliant story of Uncle Tom's Cabaña. At fifty he dropped the buttermilk racket to become "Acidophilus king of America," there was money on the alkaline side, so he bottled it like mad, took on little Eva, who swept him to Palm Beach and built him a cabaña, the inside of which he never saw; it was always full of her lovely friends. The end is tragic. "LONG LIVE THE KING OF ACIDOPHILUS," cried the well paid ocean waves, as they finished him off. Brilliant, salable and unique.

I would not say that a stocking is the place to put this book, with its inexhaustible rhythms and aggressive knowledge, its VICTORY WITHOUT PAIN, LOVE WITHOUT REGULATIONS. But to declare it a Christmas present is rather more than suggestive. The happy recipient, as they say, will follow Mrs. Pettibone in that first of her connubial items:

Meanwhile, I peeked
through the door
and was not TOO displeased!

S. Y.

The Story of a Lynching

Death in the Deep South, by Ward Greene. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Sons. $2.

THE SCENE is Atlanta, and a girl has been raped and murdered. Several men, it seems, might possibly be guilty. The police, however, choose to hang it on the Negro janitor, and for two days they slug him and strap him and rubber-hose him in the groin. But the district attorney is ambitious and thinks there is "reasonable doubt." The girl's teacher is a damyankee, and it would make of the case a *cause célèbre* if he were to be convicted and not the Negro. So the cops are made to work on the teacher, aided and abetted by the local papers in a battle for circulation. The Civil Liberties Union, Detective William J. Burns, Joseph Pulitzer and the The New York World pseudonymously enter the lists in his defense. Though the defendant herein is not a Jew, it is obvious the kernel of the story is the historic case of Leo Frank (when, with the aid of Populist Tom Watson and his Weekly Jeffersonian, the local politicos were able to play the anti-Semitic, anti-Yankee drives of the people against their anti-Negroism to obtain a verdict of death—which, when commuted by the Governor to life, resulted in the lynching of an innocent man). By tersely reporting the facts of such a case, as the police might have disclosed them and the papers printed them (had either cared to tell the truth), the head of Mr. Hearst's King Features Syndicate has here created a study of mob hysteria far more terrible than the most assiduous of murder mysteries. But he has not been content with a mere fictionalization of the case of Leo Frank; to an already devastating plot he has added for good measure selected bits from the trials of Hauptmann, Lamson and the Scottsboro boys. The result, sardonic and journalese but somehow entirely credible, is perhaps the strongest dose of Americana the lending-library patrons have ever been allowed to taste.

LEIGH WHITE.

Foreign Correspondent

Covering the Far East, by Miles W. Vaughn. New York: Covici, Friede. 408 pages. $3.

ALTHOUGH born of a typical prairie family and brought up in Governor Landon's adopted state, Mr. Vaughn always wanted to visit the Orient. He achieved his ambition in 1924 when, after ten years' experience with the United Press, partly in the United States and partly in Latin America, he was made manager of its Far Eastern Bureau in Tokyo. The bulk of his book concerns his adventures there. Mr. Vaughn follows a roughly chronological pattern and writes some amusing character sketches of many Far Eastern notables. He admires Chiang Kai-shek as a "realist" and sympathizes with the aims of the Japanese militarists though he does not care for their methods. Only the Communists revealed the true inwardness of the Chinese situation to him, and he reverts frequently to the successful efforts of British diplomacy to involve the United States in the Far East. The most important passages in his book come toward the end when he criticizes the Hoover-Stimson doctrine of refusing to recognize any regime set up in violation of the Nine Power Treaty. This attitude, he says, gives no opportunity for the United States to accept realities without loss of face and ignores the Oriental mentality. For the most part, however, his story consists of characteristic anecdotes and conversations with Orientals as well as foreigners. He tells again about the Japanese bombardment of Shanghai in 1932. Unfortunately his book lacks cohesion, style, an integrated point of view. The author has kept his own personality far too much in the background.

QUINCY HOWE.

Beyond Genesis

The Great Chain of Being, by Arthur O. Lovejoy. Cambridge: The Harvard University Press. 392 pages. $4.

PROFESSOR Lovejoy has written a fascinating and moving book on the history of an idea that has ended in failure. Beginning with the ancients and ending with contemporary writers, he traces the fate of Occidental speculation concerning the reason for the existence of the world.

The genesis of the problem is located in the other-worldly temper of Greek thinkers, and the historic solution considered is the ancient conception of a self-sufficient, transcendent God, who because of his very goodness "overflows" into the world he creates. As a corollary to this "solution" there emerges the idea of the Great Chain of Being: the created world contains the embodiment of all possibilities, its individualized forms being graded unilinearly and continuously in order of ontological perfection. Fantasy though it may be, this idea has captured the imaginations of men in all ages for, as the author remarks, it is not as science that philosophy has been a factor in history. The tremendous influence this idea has had upon the arts, sciences and society is richly documented. But it is the comic roles the idea has played which are perhaps the most engrossing. Originally the expression of a flight from the world, it became in turn the intellectual support for doctrines of classic repose, of a worldly optimism, of reactionary social morality, to end up as the mainstay for a this-worldly romanticism and a revolutionary lust for life. Everyone interested in the larger ironies of human history should read this book.

ERNEST NAGEL.

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Books in Brief

Sagittarius Rising, by Cecil Lewis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 301 pages. $2.50.

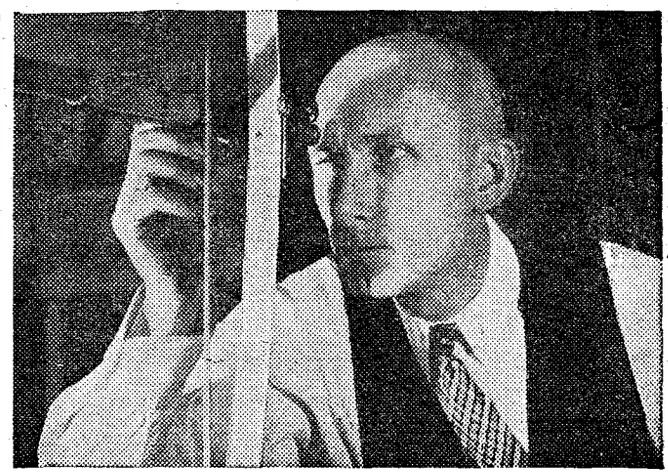
LEWIS enlisted in the Royal Flying Corps at the age of seventeen. Before his demobilization at twenty, he had become Senior Flight-Commander and won an M.C. He flew a thousand hours in fifty-three different types of planes. Because his experiences make splendid copy, because they are typical of those of hundreds of boys who flew in the World War, and—mostly—because as a literary craftsman Mr. Lewis far outranks any of the other war flyers who have chosen to write their memoirs, "Sagittarius Rising" is a minor masterpiece. It is a straightforward and marvelously authentic account of high adventure. But it is also an accurate and sensitive study of the "lost life" of a man who, fully aware of the iniquity of war, cannot but feel nostalgia for years made glamorous by carefree fellowship and delight in proficiency at a dangerous game and wholehearted participation in a collective endeavor. R. G.

The March of Science: A Popular Introduction to the Story of the Universe and Man's Place on Earth, by H. Gordon Garbedian. New York: Covici, Friede. 320 pages, illustrated. $3.

Mr. Garbedian, of the staff of The New York Times, begins his second book on popular science by a reference to "the grandeur of the heavens," and ends it with another old stand-by of the journalist: the "Ship of Man's Destiny," still awaiting those "skilled and courageous pilots who can steer the vessel by the jagged reefs of greed and ignorance and into the channel of social progress." Between these two termini of glamor and edification science marches at the brisk pace set by a guide who is undoubtedly well informed, but for whom the universe—like the Louvre or the Metropolitan Museum—is something to be "covered" first, and studied afterwards. There is a persistent tendency in all popular "outlines" to emphasize facts at the expense of a social interpretation from which alone these facts can get their vitality. This tendency deprives books like Mr. Garbedian's of the influence they could, and should, have. Even in an informative chapter on mental disease he can say quite carelessly that the hygiene of the mind is "of far more consequence to our happiness" than bodily health—the terrible physical ravages of the depression apparently forgotten. H. W.

The King's Good Servant, by Olive B. White. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This is a novelized version of Thomas More's last years and, as such, deals with one of the great dramas of the European spirit: More's stand against the withdrawal from the Papacy by the Church of England. There is little here about the visionary or ironic side of More's mind. His saintliness is emphasized almost at the expense of his subtlety: most of the book is devoted to slowly tracing out the steps by which More veered from distrust of Henry to that final intransigence which cost him his head but earned him a halo. As a novel the book seems occasionally uninventive, limited in its movement; that is largely due, I think, to the strict accuracy of Miss White's outline, for the book differs from formal biography only in being elastic rather than definitely fictional. As a whole, however, her impassioned feeling for the material enlivens it to an unusual degree, and most of the famous scenes are not only felt but become deeply moving. A. K.



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Contributors

MORRIS L. COOKE is a consulting engineer who served as chairman of the Storage Section of the War Industries, director of the Pennsylvania Giant Power Survey and trustee of the New York Power Authority. He is now administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration.

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ERNEST NAGEL is the author of "The Logic of Measurement" and an instructor in Philosophy at Columbia University.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Ramon Guthrie, Harold Ward and Alfred Kazin.

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